The Outlook

JULY 31, 1918

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Next week's issue of The Outlook will be a Sea Power Number. It will contain an article by Alexander H. Beard on the fabricated ship as an answer to the submarine and an article by Lieutenant Lewis R. Freeman about what the British bluejacket thinks of the American.

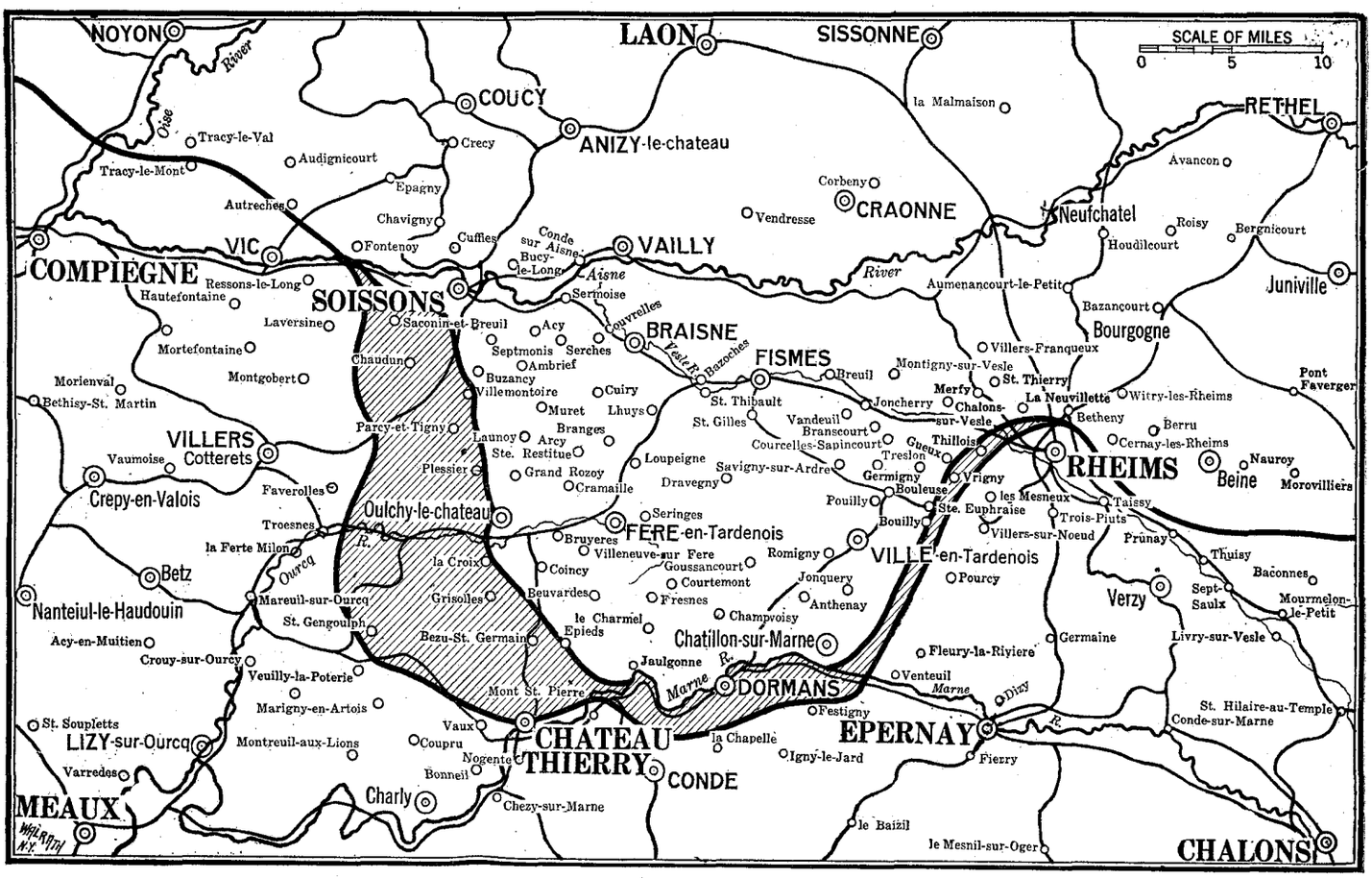
THE WEEK

GENERAL FOCH STRIKES HARD

Not for three months has there been such inspiring news for the Allies, and especially for Americans, as in the week ending July 23. For the first time since the British blow at Cambrai the initiative and the advance have been with our forces. General Foch's strategy has been justified. From now on the fighting on the western front will be governed as to time and place by the Allies, and not by the Germans. Precisely where the battle-line may stand when our offensive loses its impetus is not the important thing. Very probably the Germans, already driven back from the tip of their Marne salient, will make a stand on the river Vesle, which here runs partly parallel to the Aisne, or they may retreat to the line of the Aisne itself. What is the greatest cause for renewed confidence and rejoicing is that, unless all signs fail, the season's forward march of Germany is stopped. Its road to the Channel, whether through Picardy or Flanders, was already blocked; its move toward Paris, with the main object of enlarging its salients, is checked. The summer is waning; autumn is drawing near; the time for large, decisive efforts is slipping by. Next year, under General Foch's supreme command, the Allies, reinforced with every man and every gun that America can move, should hold the initiative, and may, by the end of that year's campaign, be able to dictate terms.

Germany's two aims in her fifth offensive were to pocket Rheims by driving wedges at each side of the city and to widen and extend the Marne salient. She has failed completely in both aims. A notable thing about our effort in the Rheims sector was that General Foch moved British units all the way south and then east and then north again from their stations far north of Soissons straight to the southwestern Rheims front, where they fought in line with French, Italians, and Americans.

But the finest and most valuable effort was on the western side of the Marne salient from Château Thierry to Soissons, and it was here that American divisions gained fame and victory. Château Thierry has fallen to the Allies! Better still, the lines of communication between Soissons and the southern part of the salient have been broken—highway and railway. Incalculable quantities of munitions have been seized by the Allies or have been destroyed by the Germans in their retreat. Burn-



THE ALLIES' ADVANCE

The upper black line shows the position on July 23. The shaded area covers the advances of the Allies, including, of course, both territory retaken after the original German offensive and new ground gained

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ing villages and exploding piles of shells mark the extent of that movement. Whether Soissons itself falls to the Allies or remains as a pivot of a new German line is uncertain.

What General Foch is striking is not lines, but armies. If, as we believe, he has inflicted enormous loss on the enemy in killed, wounded, prisoners, and supplies, the victory is won, no matter where the line stands. Moreover, if, as is reported, the reserves of the Crown Prince, who is in nominal command of this section, are running low, and if German forces are being moved south from Picardy to support the retreat, there is at least a possibility that an attack in force by the British on some weakened German sector may follow. It would be folly for any one to predict such a movement. Only General Foch knows the chances and value of any large military policy.

On July 23 the despatches stated that the advance between the Aisne and the Marne was continuing, and that the French were seven miles north of Château Thierry. On that day American troops took the towns of Jaulgonne and Buzancy and the French took Oulchy-le-Château. German reports claim that the advance has been checked. The Crown Prince is said to have three hundred thousand men south of the Aisne and north of the Marne, but the kind of prisoners the Allies are taking shows that the German soldiers in use are of extremely unequal fighting quality. One amusing remark attributed to a German prisoner, once a baker in America, is that the German soldiers before last week believed that it was a lie that a million Americans were in France, but now he believed that there were ten million Americans at the Marne.

One reason why General Foch struck when and where he did was that in that section the Allies had come to be on interior, and the Germans on exterior, lines—the precise opposite of what existed before the Germans' Marne offensive. Lines drawn from a central point to points on the inner or concave section of a circle are equal; lines from an external position to points on the outer or convex section of a circle are of uneven length. Thus advantage in rapid support of attack at chosen points inured to the Allies.

Among the personalities which have come to the front in the recent great battles are those of General Mangin, who ordered and controlled the fighting of French and Americans on the Thierry-Soissons front, and of General Gouraud, who has been equally efficient and brilliant on the Champagne front. Both have heretofore done splendid service, and notably General Mangin in planning the Verdun defense.

General March's statements to the press men have been humane and considerate in telling the anxious Americans at home just what units have been engaged, so far as this is proper. Thus on July 20 he stated that the American divisions employed were not operating as corps, "but wherever it is necessary for us to use them." About 270,000 American troops have been in the Marne area. Divisions have been used from all three of these corps, the formation of which was described in The Outlook last week. The units engaged are thus described: "The First and Second Divisions of regulars, the latter division including the Marine Corps contingents which made a wonderful fighting record in Belleau Wood, and the Twenty-sixth New England National Guard are in the First Corps, of which the Forty-second, or Rainbow, Division is also a part. The Fourth regulars and the Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania National Guard are in the Second Corps. The Third regular Division is in the Third Corps."

What effect the failure of the German war lords to fulfill their promises to the people of a decisive victory will have remains to be seen. The lure of a thrust to the Channel, of the capture of Paris, of a German peace dictated at the sword's point, must some time lose its soothing effect. Political as well as military trouble seems to be presaged in Germany.

THE NEW SUBMARINE CAMPAIGN ON OUR COASTS

The conduct of the activity (if it can so be called) in American waters by German submarines is so peculiar that it suggests two surmises: One is that the ridiculous, wasteful, and totally valueless assault on a tugboat and three or four coal barges was intended to divert attention from some larger plan; the other is that the submarines sent over here are simply cowardly, that they avoid war-vessels like the plague, and that they want to get rid of their munitions and return home. The answer to this puzzle may very likely be known before this is read; our record reaches July 23 only. If, as many believe, the cruiser San Diego was destroyed by a mine which had been dropped, probably with others, off the shore near New York (the San Diego was sunk on July 19 about ten miles from Fire Island, with a very small loss of life), then one plan of submarine attack is indicated and must be most scrupulously guarded against. It does not seem to be positively settled as we write whether the San Diego was sunk by a torpedo, by a German submarine, or (possibly, but not probably) by one of our mines accidentally afloat.

Ever since it was reported officially and authentically not long ago that a submarine had sunk a vessel not far from Cape Race it has been all but certain that German submarines would appear on our coasts. If the kind of campaign they are to carry on is to be judged by what was done in the first submarine attack against America or by what has happened so far in this campaign, the result will neither terrify our people nor our Government. We can view with equanimity the discharge of three torpedoes and some dozens of shells against a little tugboat and a few empty barges, or even the occasional loss of a coastwise vessel, so long as our great transport convoys sail the seas, bearing every month many scores of thousands of soldiers to the war front.

The one thing that has been new in the recent submarine attack here has been the heartless and purposeless shelling without warning of boats containing only non-combatants, including women and children. This is far from being new elsewhere, but the most cowardly species of Germany's naval war for what she calls the liberty of the seas is now practiced for the first time in American waters.

THE EXECUTION OF NICHOLAS II OF RUSSIA

The execution of Nicholas II, once Czar of All the Russias, in a far-distant Siberian town whose name is hardly known to American readers arouses pity for the victim, great as were his faults and weaknesses, and contempt and reprobation of his executioners. The Bolsheviki officials in Moscow may not have ordered the Ural Regional Soviet to shoot Nicholas Romanoff, but they have accepted the decision to shoot him as being, in their own words, "regular."

There is a cold-blooded curtness about the few and matter-of-fact words in which the Moscow authorities dismiss this subject. It is strange that for weeks before July 16, the date of the murder, or execution—and to our minds the evidence points to murder—reports of the death of the former Czar were current all over the world. The inference is strong that during this time the matter was in discussion at Moscow, as well as at Yekaterinburg, the capital of the Ural province where the execution took place.

The only crime alleged in the statement from Moscow against Nicholas is that he had plotted to escape. The real reason lies in the explanation which is offered by way of excuse—this is that the Bolsheviki in the Ural region were afraid of the "approach of Czechoslovak bands," because they thought that this might lead to the wresting of the ex-Czar from their own hands. "In view of this fact," they say, "the President of the Ural Regional Soviet decided to shoot the ex-Czar." But they also say that "the wife and son of Nicholas Romanoff have been sent to a place of security." This at once suggests the question why Nicholas himself might not have been sent to a place of security. In order to make a case against the ex-Czar, the Moscow authorities announce that they will publish extracts from his diaries and other documents in the near future.

Those who decided upon the death of Nicholas will hardly hold as important a place in history as the regicides who sent Louis XVI of France and Charles I of England to their scaffolds; for even the Revolutionists of France, with all their cruelty, went through the form of a state trial, while Charles I of England was tried and heard at length in his own defense. On the other hand, the character of Nicholas II will hardly show well in comparison with those of the two monarchs named.

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Both Charles and Louis had their weaknesses, lack of comprehension, and perversity; but Nicholas was simply hopeless, because of his mental inferiority, his vacillation, and his faithlessness. He called the First Peace Conference at The Hague, but his conduct toward Japan forced war. He called the First Duma together, but he also, not only tolerated, but, it is believed, instigated, the atrocities of the "Black Hundred" and the persecution of the Jews. He seems always to have been in fear—sometimes of a revolution, sometimes of the absolutists who surrounded him. He seemed to act with strength of will in the face of German aggression at the outbreak of the war. By fits and starts he would act on his own volition, but his volition was quite as likely to be evil as good. At other times he yielded weakly to the "dark influences" about him, such as those of the unspeakable Rasputin.

Bolshevik leaders need not have feared conspiracies to replace Nicholas on the throne. That would have been inconceivable. And if they honestly were in fear that the Czechoslovak forces in Siberia would rescue Nicholas, then they have no conception of the actual condition of affairs in Siberia. The last thing on earth that the Czechoslovaks would want to restore would be autocracy in Russia; what they do want is to establish freedom and liberty in their own country.

SOMETHING BESIDES WATCHFUL WAITING

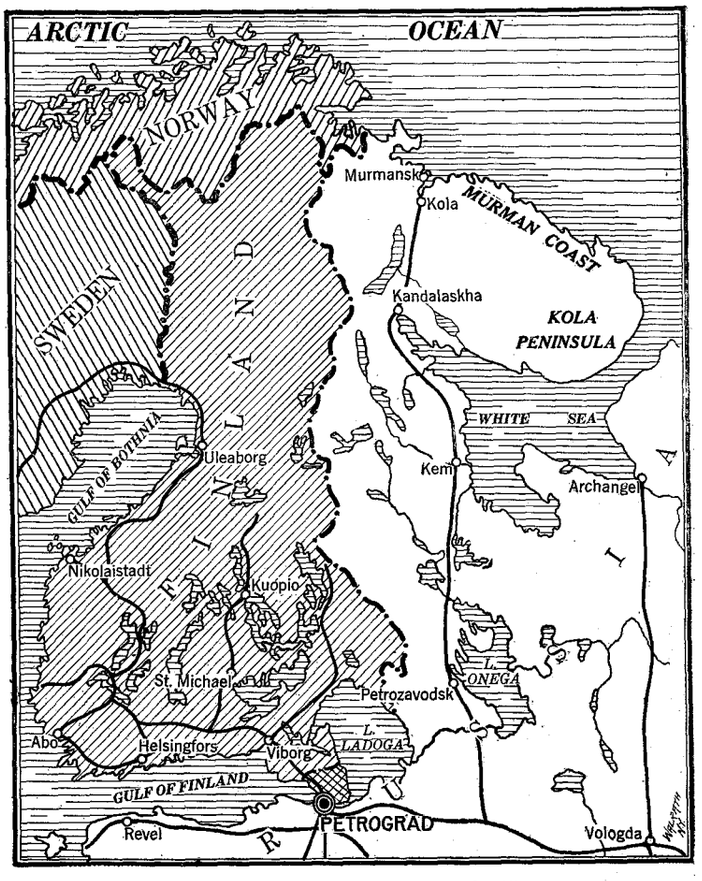
As early as the first week in June the Bolshevik Government circulated through its wireless stations a copy of an agreement between its Foreign Minister, Tchitcherin, and the late Count von Mirbach, the German Ambassador. Among the terms of this agreement was one providing that, in return for the cession by Finland to the Russian Republic of two places close to the Russo-Finnish frontier and the Russian Republic's promise not to fortify them, that Republic should cede the western part of the Murman coast, including Kola Inlet, to Finland. This would of course mean the barter for practically nothing of ice-free ports of inestimable value.

Meanwhile a secret agreement between Germany and Finland was revealed by which Finland engaged to give Germany the use of any outlets to the Arctic Ocean which Finland might obtain.

These amazing bargains needed to be instantly met by the one language understood by all parties to them—by force. It was so met. To the British and French armed forces already installed at Kola Inlet on the Murman coast American Marines and bluejackets were added. It was also rumored that American troops had appeared in the neighborhood of Kola and Archangel. If so, they must have been despatched by the supreme Allied commander, General Foch, from some of the large number of Americans now training in English and French camps.

According to a report from Stockholm, Rear-Admiral Kemp, of the British Navy, has proclaimed that Serbian troops have been added to the British, French, and American forces occupying the northern section of the Murman Railway. He announces that "these forces will advance southward, in accordance with the requests of the local authorities and the pleas of the local populations for help." One would think that Polish troops from France would be still more desirable. Certainly it is vitally necessary that an adequate supply of troops should protect the Murman Railway and, what is equally desirable, get into sympathetic touch with the peoples of northern Russia.

The German press has not been slow to scent the new danger to Germany. The "Berliner Tageblatt" admits that "British, French, and American troops on the Murman coast have grown to several divisions, and are marching rapidly inland." They have proceeded south as far as Kem, on the White Sea. Kem is also a railway point half-way between Kola Inlet and Petrograd. The seizure of Kem may check the German-Finnish movement towards that port—a movement which had as its double motive the gaining of a harbor for immediate use and the prevention of the Allies from sending farther inland the stores of food, clothing, and munitions which arrived in and have been detained at the Kola Inlet towns since the Bolsheviki attained power. The Berlin "Vossische Zeitung" credits the Allies with the ambition to link up the Murman coast with the Cossacks



NORTHWESTERN RUSSIA AND FINLAND

Showing the Murman Coast and the Murman Railway from Murmansk to Petrograd

and Czechoslovaks who are operating between the Volga River and the Ural Mountains and beyond, for which purpose, the "Vossische" adds, the Archangel and Vologda Railway offers excellent facilities.

So it does. Let us save Russia while there is time. Strength to the Allied movement, whether on the Arctic or the Pacific coast!

THE BUILDER OF THE MURMAN RAILWAY

The Murman Railway connects the Murman coast (the Arctic coast of the Kola Peninsula) with Petrograd, and is about six hundred miles long.

In 1914, the first year of the European war, the Russian Government directed Mr. Goriachkovsky, a distinguished Russian engineer, who has just arrived in this country, to establish a permanent connection with the Allies through the ice-free harbors in Kola Inlet. More than a hundred thousand workmen from many parts of the Empire were taken to the Kola Peninsula for the enterprise. A total population of double that number developed, drawn thither largely by the rich timber resources of the peninsula and the opportunity for their transportation afforded by the railway. The actual construction of the road began in May, 1915, and the project was completed in November, 1916, just in time, one might think, to prove of advantage to the Germans rather than to the Russians. However, before Bolshevik control much ammunition, provisions, clothing, and railway material had already been landed and transported by the new railway to the interior; more, it is said, was delivered than from Vladivostok, nearly seven times as far away from Moscow by the Trans-Siberian system.

Mr. Goriachkovsky announces, as reported by the New York "Times," that the Murman people are hostile to Bolshevism and are outspokenly loyal to the cause of the Entente Allies. Remotely located from the Soviet machine in Moscow, they have not yet been terrorized by the Red Guards. Since the Revolution, and even before, the Murman population has received almost all of its food and supplies from America and her allies. This is true to such an extent, Mr. Goriachkovsky asserts,

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that the people in the Murman region feel closer to New York than they do to Moscow. At the present time the Murman people would starve, he says, if it were not for the food they are getting from the Allies.

With such sympathy for the Allied cause, this district, as well as the adjoining portion of northern Russia, should offer, declares Mr. Goriachkovsky, an admirable vantage-point from which an Allied economic and military mission could approach Russia directly. The inhabitants, he is sure, would receive an Allied force with open arms. The railways would, of course, be of vital value to the Allies in maintaining a steady line of communications from the Arctic to the interior, and in a short time the danger of German penetration through the Finnish border would be ended, even though the Teutons now seem to be in complete military and political control of Finland, pushing that country towards the conquest of ice-free Arctic ports. Since the Belgian ports have been made of little value, these are specially needed by Germany for submarine bases.

America has been recently represented at Murmansk and Archangel by Y. M. C. A. men. A letter from one of them, from which we are privileged to quote, and which confirms the above statements, speaks of the people who live in the Arctic region of Russia. The correspondent says:

> Last month I took a three-hundred-mile sled journey through the Archangel province. Of course I saw the better class, stopping at the post houses. Home spinning and weaving (flax) and netting going on everywhere. Plenty of timber and firewood available and ship-building. . . .
>
> The Allies ought at once to establish a protectorate over northern Russia with Archangel and this port as entrance and exit, and make it a rallying-ground for all the constructive forces in the country. The people here and in Archangel would welcome it and would declare themselves a Republic.

The correspondent asserts that the Bolsheviki are "both anti-religious and fearful of foreign capitalists." He adds:

> They are drunk with distilled license and label it freedom! . . . The present unveiling of the German scheme to these trustful internationalists (who disbanded their army and *then* asked German terms) will fully discredit Germany. . . . The news comes that the Russians will try and fight—it is an indication of their returning spirit, not so much of courage as of sanity.

The correspondent thinks that our policy of "hanging on" may not be a permanent policy. He concludes:

> I have heard the jaw of W. Wilson, Esq., snap in the classroom and have always said that when the time came there would be something besides Watchful Waiting.

ISSUES IN THE COMING ELECTION

Before this issue of The Outlook has reached its readers the Democrats of New York State will have held their Convention at Saratoga. What has disturbed thoughtful and patriotic Democrats has been the extent of the influence of William Randolph Hearst, with the possibility of his informal nomination or the nomination of some man whom he can control. In an effort to overcome this influence, Mr. William Church Osborn, a Democratic leader of repute, announced that he would enter the primaries. Certainly the most powerful organized influences at the Convention and in the State are those of Tammany Hall and of Hearst.

It is generally supposed that, in view of the relations established between these two elements in the party, which resulted in the downfall of the Mitchel administration in New York City and the election of John F. Hylan as Mayor, there will be co-operation between them in the State election. What the influence of the Hearst newspapers has been during the war ought to be well known by this time throughout the country. Those newspapers have cast suspicion on our allies, have opposed sending the men of the selected draft to fight in France, and have done much else to sap the spirit of those who read them. Besides Mr. Osborn, there is no candidate for the nomination who is known throughout the State as an open and avowed opponent of the Hearst influence. The name of Mr. Gerard, former Ambassador to Germany, has been under consideration; and George R. Lunn, former Socialist and Mayor of Schenectady, and now Democratic Representative in Congress, has been regarded as an active candidate for the nomination. The man who has probably the most inherent strength is Alfred E. Smith, of whom a sketch, written by Mr. Frederick M. Davenport, appears on another page of this issue. The distrust of Tammany Hall which exists in the State outside of New York City and the disinclination on the part of Tammany leaders to allow Mr. Smith to leave his present important position as President of the New York City Board of Aldermen are obstacles in the way of his nomination which even his inherent strength may not overcome. All this question of candidates would be of little interest outside the State if it did not involve the Hearst candidacy and the Hearst influence.

Because of the menace to the Nation's welfare that is involved in the Hearst influence the question of the New York elections has become of National concern. That menace has affected, not only the Democratic, but also the Republican, party in the State. A few days before the Democratic Convention assembled the Republican Convention had adjourned without suggesting any man for the Governorship. Governor Whitman is a candidate for renomination and re-election. Mr. Lewis, former Attorney-General of the State, is an opposing candidate for the nomination, but, in recognition of the Hearst menace, offered to retire if ex-President Roosevelt would consent to become a candidate. This Mr. Roosevelt has declined to do, on the ground that his mind dwells on the problems of the war, and that he could not bring the whole of his strength and thought to the onerous duties of the Governorship.

MR. ROOSEVELT RESTATES HIS PROGRAMME FOR WAR AND PEACE

In speaking before the Republican State Convention Mr. Roosevelt reiterated what he has said before about the need of Americanism, of thoroughgoing support of the war and of our allies, and of the refusal to consider peace "until Germany is beaten to her knees." In particular, he emphasized as requisites to victory the freeing of Russia and Asia Minor from Germany's stranglehold, the reinstatement and reimbursement of Belgium, the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, the driving of Turkey from Europe, the return of Italian Austria to Italy, of Rumanian Hungary to Rumania, and, through the raising of the sword of the Slavs, the establishment of free commonwealths of the Poles, Czechoslovaks, Jugoslavs, and other submerged peoples.

Mr. Roosevelt insisted again that the loyalty of the people is to the country and the country's cause, and "to every public servant, whether President or Senator, executive, official, or Congressman, precisely to the degree in which that public servant disinterestedly and efficiently serves the country." He renewed his arguments for universal military training.

Not less important than what he had to say about the war itself was what he said about conditions that must be dealt with in peace as well as in war. These conditions may be called the conditions of industrial reconstruction. Mr. Roosevelt's platform is in contrast alike to the unprogressive practices of the Bourbon and the doctrinaire radicalism of the Bolsheviki. As against the arbitrary exercise of power by the capitalist and the equally arbitrary employment of force by the laborer, he urged the necessity of a policy of co-operation and partnership. He pointed out the necessity of preserving profits without protecting profiteering, for it is out of profit that new production is provided for. At the same time he pointed out the necessity of preserving the full right of labor to combine and to act in combination. In addition, he urged that labor should be treated "as a partner in the enterprises in which it is associated." This spirit of co-operation he advocated as that which should guide us in dealing with business, with Government ownership of utilities, with such subjects as old-age insurance, housing and living conditions, increase of output, individual rewards for industry, improvement in agriculture and the business of farming.

Such a policy Mr. Roosevelt laid down as something to be looked forward to in the re-establishment of peace, and, by implication, as a guide in the prosecution of the war itself. His final emphasis was upon the speeding up of the war and upon the refusal of any peace except that which will guarantee

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Kirby in the New York World

WEARING OUT

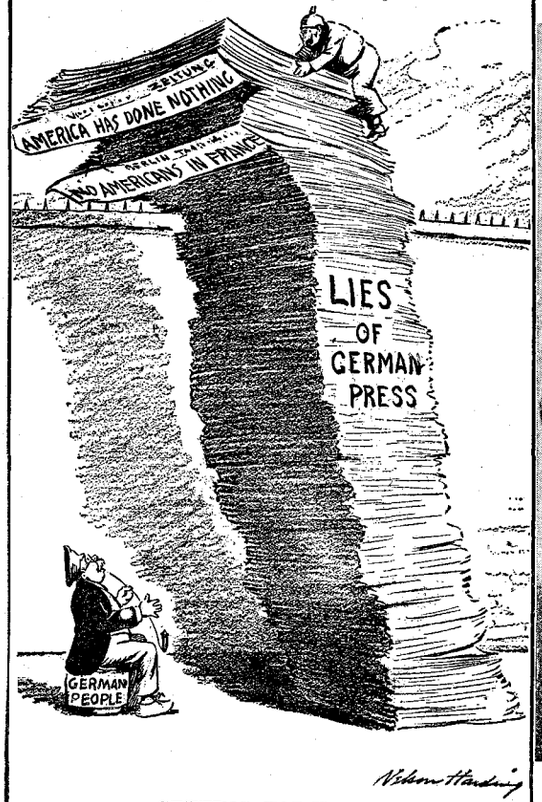
Williams in London Opinion

["Over 700,000 Americans have already left American shores to fight Germany."—Mr. Baker, the Secretary of War.]

The Kaiser: "I'm smashing this Christopher Columbus. He is the Schweinhund who discovered America."

AN ANCIENT ENEMY

Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle



GETTING TOP-HEAVY

Marcus in the New York Times

ANOTHER VACATION SPOILED

"But you promised to take me to the seashore this summer"

KAISER CARTOONS

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the world against German dominion and secure "to every well-behaved civilized Power its real and complete freedom."

THE "BONNET ROUGE"

Early in 1914 the newspaper "Bonnet Rouge" (Red Cap) was established in Paris. Miguel Almereyda was its editor. After the war broke out, the paper published attacks on the French Government in a way to aid German propaganda. A year ago, suspecting that Almereyda, through his Spanish relatives and connections, was passing information concerning the French army to the enemy by the way of Spain, the French Government arrested him and suppressed his paper. Almereyda died mysteriously in prison under circumstances pointing to suicide.

The "Bonnet Rouge" case dragged along with it other revelations. In the first place, the scandal involved the newspaper's director, Duval. In the disclosures of defeatism in France he has now become the second to forfeit his life before a firing squad. The first was Bolo Pasha. Soon after Bolo's death the trial of Duval (whose case resembled Bolo's in many particulars) and those of his associates began. It was concluded May 15. The death sentence was imposed upon Duval. Unless he had been found guilty, the other defendants could not have been convicted, the charges against them being merely that they had aided and abetted him. They were given prison terms ranging from two to ten years.

In the second place, the "Bonnet Rouge" scandal involved a more important man, one who had been the Minister of the Interior in several Cabinets, Louis Malvy. In European Cabinets the Minister of the Interior is a powerful personage, for the secret and other police are under his control. When the extraordinary influence exercised by Almereyda at the Ministry of the Interior was discovered, Malvy was accused of sheltering the men who have now been convicted of plotting against the life of France. For a long time Malvy "bluffed." Finally, he demanded to be tried before the Senate, sitting as a High Court. The Senate agreed, and Malvy thus escaped court martial. A searching investigation took place, and its report is now at hand. It exonerates Malvy from the charges of having delivered details concerning the army to the enemy or from having sent out agents to stir up mutiny among the French troops, but it does insist upon "culpable negligence and criminal disregard of the duties of a Minister of the Interior." The dropping of the charges of direct treason makes life imprisonment the greatest punishment that can be imposed upon the former Minister, if found guilty, and even this, under extenuating circumstances, may be commuted to five years' solitary confinement.

In the third place, the "Bonnet Rouge" dragged into further publicity a still more sinister figure—an ex-Prime Minister, Joseph Caillaux, who, the report says, subsidized the paper to the extent of $200,000. Moreover, the report adds, it was Almereyda who organized the famous crew of Corsican bandits and ex-criminals who acted as life-guards for Caillaux after the trial of Madame Caillaux for the murder of Gaston Calmette, editor of "Figaro." Caillaux, though disgraced, though out of office and suspected by many, still wielded influence, by secret channels—an influence so exercised as to cause his arrest for treason.

When Clemenceau became Prime Minister, he declared that he would rid France of traitors. Two of them have been executed, others imprisoned, and the net is drawing fast about the rest.

Vive la France!

THE LOYAL LEGION OF LOGGERS AND LUMBERMEN

When we entered the war, it was seen that the task of supplying ourselves with airplane wood would fall chiefly on the Pacific lumber camps. Hence the Government's first step was to form the Spruce Production Division of the United States Signal Corps, with headquarters at Portland, Oregon, and Colonel Brice Disque, U. S. A., in charge.

Colonel Disque found that labor conditions throughout the logging camps were in a state of chaos. Labor agitators and I. W. W. fanatics were doing everything in their power to demoralize conditions. Strikes and other indications of economic unrest were of every-day occurrence.

As an offset, Colonel Disque organized the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen. With the Government's authority, he followed this up by fixing the price of lumber and wages and inaugurating an eight-hour day.

We have been at war over a year. To-day the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen has over a hundred thousand members, and the number is steadily increasing. Strikes are unknown, and for the first time in their history the National flag waves over six hundred logging camps in the forests of the Pacific Northwest.

A prime agent in the accomplishment of this superb result has been the publication by Colonel Disque, under Government authorization, of a "Monthly Bulletin," so as to bring the different "locals" closer together and to keep before them the importance of their place in the world's struggle. Under the editorship of Mr. Spencer Best, this United States Army publication has been an unqualified success. It reaches every part of the Northwest forests, and Captain Belman Browne, the treasurer of the "Bulletin," assures us that there is no place in America where stories, verses, or articles of any kind "will be more appreciated or do more real service than among the men there who are building the foundations of the air fleets that will win this war for freedom."

It gives us peculiar satisfaction to chronicle all this. We are now learning not only why it is that the Government has been enabled to speed up the construction of airplanes, but why it is that the Government has overcome a very dangerous spirit of antagonism between employer and employee in our lumber camps. Colonel Disque's work is certainly a fine bit of constructive diplomacy.

THE WAR WORK OF A PEACE ORGANIZATION

At the recent annual meeting of the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Elihu Root, the President, made the following statement:

> The entrance of the United States into the war and the progress of events since that action have made it evident that a large part of the ordinary activities of the Endowment must be ineffective, at least until after the restoration of peace.
>
> The hope of the world for international peace is concentrated first upon the prevention of German domination. As to this, it has become evident practically to the point of demonstration that German domination can be prevented only by force of arms. The Endowment can play but little part in producing a result to be accomplished in this way. It has, however, endeavored to contribute what it could by taking and making public a clear and definite position in favor of the active and relentless prosecution of the war to final victory.

In consequence, the Board of Trustees reaffirmed its resolution of a year ago that "the most effectual means of promoting durable international peace is to prosecute the war against the Imperial German Government to final victory for democracy," pledging the Endowment "to the loyal support of those courses of action that will assure early, complete, and final victory for the arms of the Allied forces."

It has become only increasingly evident that any ordinary peace propaganda is futile and out of place during this war. More than this, such a propaganda is positively harmful, because it tends to distract attention from concentration of effort upon the prosecution of the war. Instead of pursuing any such propaganda, the Carnegie Endowment, we learn, offered actively to co-operate with the officers of the Government whose official positions will throw upon them responsibility for our representation at the Peace Conference, whenever that comes. The offer was accepted. The entire personnel and plant of the Endowment's Division of International Law is now being used by the Government in making thorough preparation for exercising American influence after the close of the war. As the trustees say, such activity "is taking the place of agitation for peace, which we abjure until the war is won."

Concerning an effort of this sort it is important that all our people be vigilant. This concerns the fruits of victory; and it is not only essential that we gain the victory, but that justice shall receive its fruits.

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THE FOURTH YEAR OF WAR ENDS IN CONFIDENCE OF VICTORY

IT is not what we have done but what we have learned that makes us ready to enter the fifth year of the world war with confidence. It is a happy augury, to be sure, on the military side, that the Allies have so splendidly turned the latest German offensive into a retreat; that Foch has shown that he can lunge as well as guard; that Frenchmen and Americans are pouring over the Marne and cutting the enemy's lines of communication. But this turn of the tide is possible because the Allies have learned the lesson of unity in action and in council. There never was any question as to the wisdom of having one supreme commander in war, but there was doubt as to the hearty co-operation of the great armies of the Allied nations under the direction of a generalissimo necessarily chosen from one nation. To-day no such doubt exists; the first German onrush settled that question conclusively. In the long weeks of resistance, of strengthening the defensive sectors adequately, of patient watching and testing the enemy's force and intentions, one mind controlled and ordered the whole. The Allies on the western front are in their attack, as in their offense, acting as one army moving under the orders of one strong, experienced general.

The unity of the Allies, moreover, is not that of military action alone; they have discovered that they must think together. They recognize now, as they did not a year ago, that Germany has had the advantage of singleness of purpose—an evil purpose, we all know—and a unanimity which is that of master and vassals, but none the less a forceful asset. So Germany's enemies have learned, and must learn still more clearly, that this is not a war between separate nations ranged in two groups, but a war between two mighty powers, democracy and absolutism. One of these must win, and win completely. One of these must rule in the world. In the one case we shall have tyrant nations and slave nations; in the other, we shall have self-respecting, self-governing peoples, doing justice and protecting the weak everywhere.

President Wilson's famous programme of fourteen things requisite to peace and of certain principles essential to peace have no counterpart in German so-called peace talk. The reason is that the Germans as yet are simply incapable of seeing a world in which German power and German craft shall not prevail; and this was shown flagrantly in their recent contemptible statement that they would not keep Belgium *if* they could use her "as a pawn" in a peace trade. This year it has sunk into the Allies' hearts and minds that we must act as one, not alone for victory, but for the cause of civilization.

And the end of the fourth year of war brings hope and confidence also, because we seem to have surmounted in large measure the hills of difficulty. A year ago America was in the war, but not at war; to-day our faces glow with pride as we read the despatches from the front. A year ago our new National Army did not exist except on paper; the men were not even in the camps; terrible difficulties as to officers, clothing, and equipment were being gradually overcome. To-day we have sent an army of a million and a quarter to the other side. There was reason to fear lest America might be too late, but now she is in her stride; quantity production in men, ships, and airplanes is sure, or may be confidently expected, from this time on. And again the unity is not in material things alone, but in spirit and purpose. Just as labor and capital have made a truce in this war time as to strikes and lockouts, so the people at large have waived personal liberty where war demands. No one (outside of Germany) dreamed of draft resistance, but few of us foresaw how hearty and thorough its acceptance would be; hundreds of thousands of young men of foreign descent, for example, have rejoiced in a new consciousness that they are as truly American as the lineal descendants of Puritan or Cavalier. Politically, morally, and patriotically we are one people with one purpose. We accept Government management of railways without a thought of "Socialism." We go cold in winter, we eat barley instead of wheat, we pour out millions for relief, we lend billions to our Uncle Sam—*and we love it all!*

Abroad the shadows with which the beginning of the fourth year was overcast have lightened. There is often comfort in feeling that the worst has happened that could happen. Every one who thinks knew when Russia collapsed and Italy suffered reverse and poor Rumania was abandoned that Germany would reap a benefit. The year 1918 was bound to be one of "holding on by the eyelashes," of "sticking it out" until America could begin to re-establish the balance of power. Now begins a new year of happier augury. America began, not *at* the foundations, but by making the foundations themselves. The time of preparation and concentration is now far advanced; under the President we have done marvels this year; to repeat them next year—yes, and to double them—is well within our powers.

In Russia there are signs of light; if we do not have a valuable ally in Siberia to offset the German grasp on the Ukraine and the Baltic provinces, it will be our own fault; the murder of the former Czar is a plain sign of terror among the usurpers in Moscow who are trying to stifle the real Russia; the treaty of Brest-Litovsk is despised and hated everywhere. The submarine damage is decreasing; our merchant ships and destroyers are increasing; when the submarine attack on America dodges transports and destroys and sinks coast steamers and coal barges, Germany's old threats seem pitifully ludicrous. Italy has splendidly redeemed her reverse of last November, and not only on the Piave, but in Albania. In France and England Clemenceau and Lloyd George are leading public sentiment always to firmer and firmer resolve of victory and world justice. Japan is willing to act with her allies in any reasonable way and for the general good.

No; there will be no German-made peace in the fifth year of war, and there will be no German Mittel-Europa ever! We, the Allies, have learned these lessons—unity, the common purpose, the desperate finality of the issue of truth against lies, of democracy against tyranny.

TRANSFIGURED YOUTH

The death of no other man at the front has so stirred the Nation as that of Lieutenant Quentin Roosevelt. In his sacrifice his fellow-countrymen have beheld the symbol of America's young manhood offered to the cause of liberty. In the sorrow of his parents his fellow-countrymen have felt the sorrow of all who have lost sons in this struggle. In the pride his parents have simply expressed his fellow-countrymen have been able to understand in part the pride of all those who have learned that for his purpose of making mankind free God has had need of their dearest. In honoring Quentin Roosevelt Americans honor all those young men who have rendered to their country their full measure of devotion.

Because he was the son of a former President of the United States much was expected of him. He had spent his boyhood where the privacy that most boys enjoy was largely denied him. The youngest of the President's four sons, he was conspicuous for his very youth. Boyish exploits and adventures endeared him not only to his immediate family, but to the larger household of the country. And because the whole country knew him from his childhood the whole country expected him to do his duty, to use his powers worthily, and to honor his name. And now he has achieved all that could be desired of him. Even his and his country's foes have acknowledged his bravery. Before he went to the front he had proved his intrepidity; and he died gallantly fighting against odds. In this, too, Quentin Roosevelt remains a type and symbol of young American manhood. When the opportunity came, the youth of America offered themselves in abounding numbers. Much was expected of them, and yet more than that they have done and are doing. All the sons of a sovereign people are princes of the royal household, and they have proved in this war that there is no royalty equal to the royalty of the common people. In recognizing Quentin Roosevelt's rise to the height of their hopes, the people of America have paid tribute to the achievements of all those sons of the Nation who have served and died in this war.

Four sons and a son-in-law of ex-President Roosevelt are with the fighting forces. The son-in-law is a Major in the Medical Corps. The oldest of the sons is a Major who has been cited for gallantry, has been gassed, and, since his youngest brother's death, has been wounded. The next in order of age joined the British forces in Mesopotamia, was made a Captain, and has

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since been transferred to the American forces in France. The third son, a Captain of Infantry in the American forces, has been in the thick of the fighting, has been decorated by the French for gallantry in action, has been severely wounded, and is now under surgical care. The youngest of the four was Lieutenant Quentin Roosevelt. He had been in the Officers'

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LIEUTENANT QUENTIN ROOSEVELT

Died July 14, 1918, above the soil of France in aerial combat on behalf of the honor of his country and the freedom of the world

Training Camp at Plattsburg. He was of the class of 1919 at Harvard University. When his country entered the war, in which he had been impatient to bear a part, he was drawing near the close of his sophomore year. Without waiting to complete his college course, he set out to become a flight officer, was accepted in the Aviation Corps, and soon proved his skill. It is recorded of him that while he was at the aviation training camp he chose the air above his own home, near by, in which to perform the most startling maneuvers he had mastered. When he left for the front, all who knew him knew that he would be where the fighting was hardest. In the latter part of the second week of July he brought down his first enemy airplane. On the Sunday following he started out with a patrol inside the German lines in the Château Thierry sector to clear the air of the enemy and learn about the enemy's movements. It was the beginning of the battle that started as a German offensive and turned into a German retreat. Attacked by two German planes, Lieutenant Roosevelt's plane was seen to fall; and a few days later German aviators dropped a note over the Allied lines announcing his death by bullet wounds and his burial with honors in French soil. The "Stars and Stripes," the newspaper published by the American Expeditionary Forces, says: "If the battle can be said to have commenced when the air fighting became intense, Lieutenant Roosevelt was probably the first American lost in the battle of the Champagne."

It has sometimes been said by the thoughtless and repeated by the ill-willed that men in places of power can afford to be ardent in advocating hostilities against an enemy of their country because they send others to fight and do not fight or suffer themselves. There is some truth in this when applied to an autocracy like Germany. No family in Germany has been safer so far in this war than the Hohenzollerns. But it is not true in a democracy. No man in America has had more to do with rousing his countrymen to the duty of resisting the aggression of Germany than Theodore Roosevelt, ex-President of the United States. When in office, he maintained peace, but when peace was no longer honorable he did all he could to strengthen his country's heart and hands. And what Mr. Roosevelt has done thousands of others of his fellow-countrymen have done. Thousands can join with him in the spirit of his answer to the man who, at a public meeting, asked him why he was not in France:

> I asked not only to go over there, but I came with one hundred thousand more men in my hands to help. And I will tell you, you man over there, that I have sent my four sons. I have sent over my four boys, for each of whose lives I care a thousand times more than I care for my own—if you can understand that, you creature over there.

And now two of those four sons are wounded, and the third has given his life; and the end of the struggle is not yet. There is more than fortitude in the following words of the former President; there are the pride and thankfulness that are known and understood by thousands of parents of other American boys who have been and will be transfigured by the sacrifice for freedom:

> Quentin's mother and I are very glad he got to the front and had the chance to render some service to his country, and to show the stuff there was in him before his fate befell him.

That is America. That is the soul of democracy. That is the sign of liberty. Quentin Roosevelt is the symbol of the spirit of a free people.

THE MORAL AND LEGAL RIGHT OF REPRISAL

Reprisal is not an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. Reprisal is not vengeance, or squaring accounts, or getting even.

Much of the objection directed against the proposal to make reprisal in war time is apparently based on a misunderstanding of what reprisal means.

Germans have without warning torpedoed merchant vessels with passengers and crew; they have bombarded without notification to the civilian population fortified and unfortified towns; they have committed unspeakable horrors upon women and upon children.

Is there anything that can be done to stop them? Shall we let them go on doing what they have been doing—murdering, raping, torturing—without any effort on our part beyond a new exertion of the military power that we are already using?

Yes, it is answered, there is something that we can do and ought to do to stop them. We can resort to reprisal.

At this suggestion there have risen strong conscientious protests. The substance of these protests is that to resort to reprisal

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is to descend to Germany's level, to imitate the Hun, to institute an endless give-and-take of atrocities.

The nature of these protests shows that there is misunderstanding on the part of some people as to the nature of reprisal. There appears to be an impression that to make reprisal on Germany for her atrocities is to do to her what she has done to us. If this were reprisal, the subject would hardly be worth discussion. No American imagines that our naval officers could by persuasion or intimidation be induced to become disciples of the German submarine pirates? It is impossible to conceive of an American or a French or an English officer of high command ordering his soldiers to do what German commanders have ordered their soldiers to do—deeds so foul that the tale of them cannot be printed nor talked of between men and women. It is idle, therefore, to suppose that any one who proposes reprisal proposes that we descend to the level of the German.

Reprisal is not necessarily the infliction of death or pain. It is not even necessarily a war measure. Reprisals have been recognized as legitimate measures for use in peace. For example, "in 1908" (we quote from Oppenheim's "International Law") "Holland ordered a squadron to seize two public Venezuelan vessels as an act of reprisal against Venezuela" for dismissing the Dutch Minister Resident at Caracas. When the wrong was repaired, the vessels were restored. Does anybody imagine that in doing this Holland descended to Germany's level?

Strictly and etymologically speaking, reprisal means taking something back or in place of something else. In peace times reprisal often means the seizure of property, as in the case of the Venezuelan ships just mentioned. That is one thing that this country could do in reprisal—it could seize the property of German subjects resident in America or property in America belonging to German subjects in Germany.

Such mild measures of reprisal, however, are not always sufficient to accomplish the purpose. It is to be remembered that the purpose is to stop atrocity, not to begin it; to end brutality, to bring brigands to a halt. Again let us quote from Oppenheim: "Reprisals between belligerents are retaliations of an illegitimate act of warfare, whether constituting an international delinquency or not, for the purpose of making the enemy comply in the future with the rules of legitimate warfare. Reprisals between belligerents are terrible means, because they are in most cases directed against innocent enemy individuals, who must suffer for real or alleged offenses for which they are not responsible. But reprisals cannot be dispensed with, because without them illegitimate acts of warfare would be innumerable. As matters stand, every belligerent and every member of its forces knows for certain that reprisals are to be expected in case they violate the rules of legitimate warfare. And when, nevertheless, an illegal act occurs and is promptly met with reprisals, as a retaliation, human nature would not be what it is if such retaliation did not act as a deterrent against a repetition of illegitimate acts." As Lueder, a German, quoted in Westlake's "International Law," puts it, "if the violations of the laws of war by the enemy were passed without retaliation, a belligerent would be at a disadvantage and worse off than his enemy who is guilty of the violations."

Reprisals are simply injurious acts of one nation which are ordinarily illegal but are recognized as being permissible for the purpose of compelling another nation to conform to law. Such acts would be illegal if they were not reprisals. But, being reprisals, they are legal. This is of course a common fact of experience. It is ordinarily illegal to shoot a man; but if he is breaking into a house the act which was otherwise illegal becomes legal, and it is permissible to shoot him. So it is between nations in time of war. There are certain acts which it is regarded as a violation of law for a belligerent to commit; but they may become legal and permissible if they are undertaken to prevent the enemy from continuing his violations.

It is a fact, recognized by all who have to do with criminals, that there are certain criminals who can be forced to abide by the law only by suffering bodily pain as a consequence of their lawlessness. If a criminal of this type is seen attacking a little girl, there is only one way to stop it, and that is by a blow. The German nation is that kind of criminal.

How can we deliver that blow?

There are some forms of reprisal about which we imagine there would be very little question—seizure of property and the like.

The threat of a commercial boycott after the war is in the nature of reprisal, though it is not very effective because it is all vague and in the future. There is only one way by which the worst of these atrocities that Germany has committed can be checked, and that is by bringing the consequences home to the German people themselves. By sending airplanes as far as possible into the interior of Germany and destroying by bombs German arsenals, ammunition plants, military railways, soldiers' camps, military stores, naval docks, aerodromes, and the like we can do something to bring home to the German people the facts of war. But such bombardments the German people might suffer anyway, because they are permissible acts of legitimate warfare. The question arises, What beyond this can be done in the way of reprisal to make the German people themselves suffer for their country's illegal and inhuman acts?

If the German people were passive spectators of this war or were silent protestants against the deeds of their army and their navy, it would be a very serious question whether Americans could be induced to bombard Germany from the skies. But the German people are not spectators. From the beginning they have acquiesced in the aggressive war of their rulers, they have celebrated the inhuman acts of their submarines, and rejoiced at the "strafing" of London and Paris. We are not merely fighting the German armies or the German Government. We are fighting the German people. And until the German people themselves are defeated Germany will remain a menace to the free peoples of the world. If the bombardment of the civilian population of Germany will stop Germans from mangling with their bombs the women and children of London and Paris and the nurses in our hospitals miles behind the front, who dares say they shall not be thus stopped? Indeed, the Germans are beginning to learn that air raids such as they have been committing may not pay; but they are beginning to learn it only because they have found Allied airplanes getting farther and farther into Germany beyond the borders of France and Belgium. They are beginning already to hint that such air raids are to be stopped by mutual agreement. We know what an agreement with Germany means. The Pope had something to say about that when Germany asked that Corpus Christi Day be observed, and then kept on bombarding Paris on that day with her long-range gun. No. We don't want Germany to make an agreement. We want to stop her.

Let us repeat what we have said before. In this case, however, we shall repeat it in words drafted as a basis for discussion of proposed Hague regulations at Brussels, supplemented by articles from the "Manual" of the Institute of International Law. These are the Brussels propositions presented by the delegate of Russia:

> Reprisals are admissible in extreme cases only, due regard being paid, as far as shall be possible, to the laws of humanity, when it shall have been unquestionably proved that the laws and customs of war have been violated by the enemy, and that they have had recourse to measures condemned by the law of nations.
>
> The selection of the means and extent of reprisals should be proportionate to the degree of the infraction of law committed by the enemy. Reprisals that are disproportionately severe are contrary to the rules of international law.
>
> Reprisals shall be allowed only on the authority of the commander-in-chief, who shall likewise determine the degree of their severity and their duration.

And these are the propositions from the "Manual" of the Institute of International Law:

> Reprisals are forbidden whenever the wrong which has afforded ground of complaint has been repaired.
>
> In the grave cases in which reprisals become an imperative necessity their nature and scope must never exceed the measure of the infraction of the laws of war committed by the enemy.
>
> They can only be made with the authorization of the commander-in-chief.
>
> They must in all cases be consistent with the rules of humanity and morality.

Observing these principles, and remembering that no act of reprisal can be tolerated which would morally degrade the individual called upon to perform it, we may safely leave the question as to what specific reprisals should be taken to the authorities responsibly charged with deciding.

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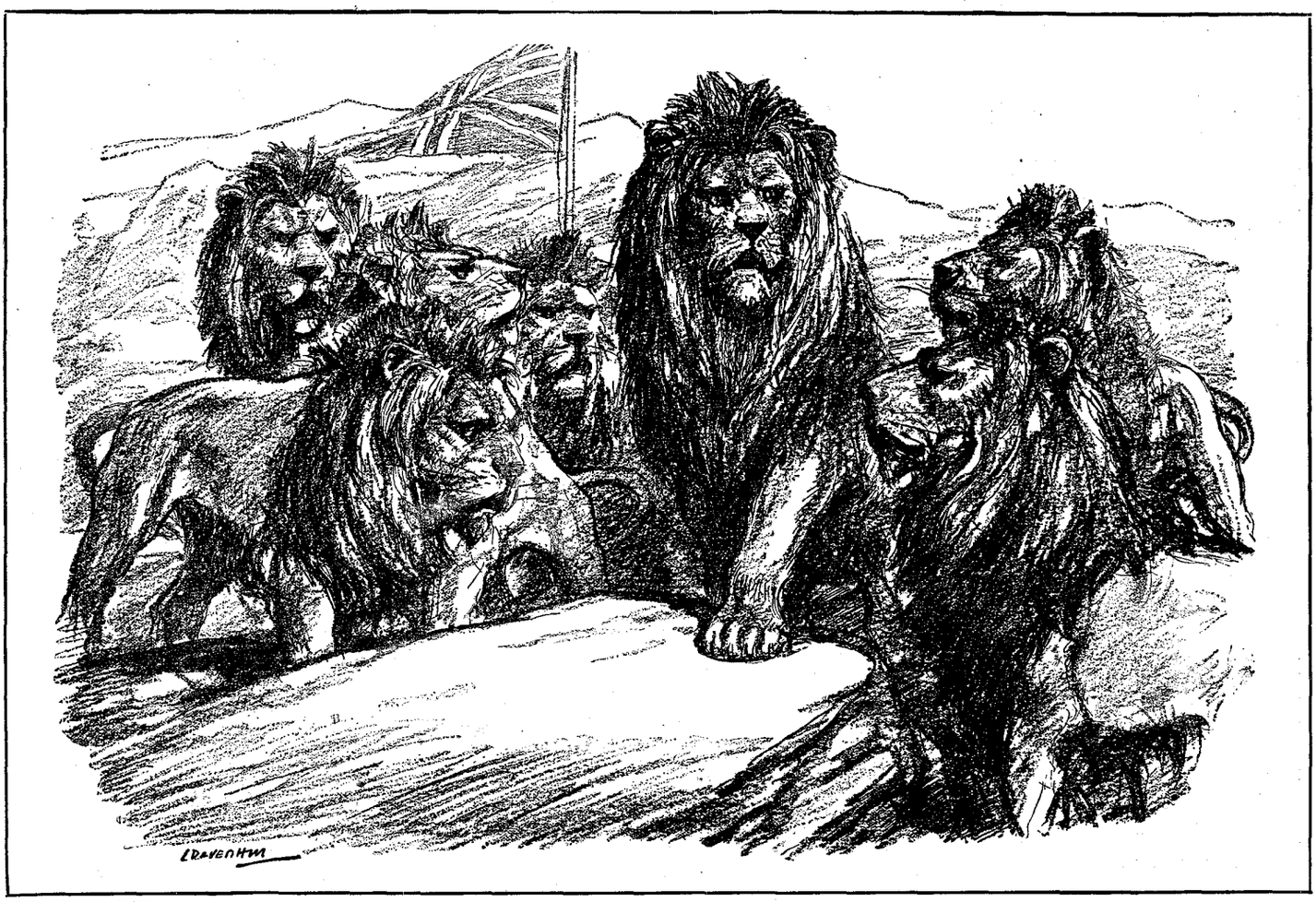

FROM LONDON "PUNCH"

THE FAMILY COUNCIL—THE IMPERIAL WAR CABINET IS NOW IN SESSION

A NEW BRITISH EMPIRE

BRITANNIC federalism has ceased to be an idea. It has become a fact. It became a fact last year at the first meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet, a single authority that unites the Empire's whole power and yet assumes as the condition of its existence complete local autonomy.

At last year's meeting it was an incomplete War Cabinet. At this year's meeting, which began its sessions last month, the Imperial War Cabinet is complete. It includes representatives from Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India.

Last year's meeting was productive of results. For instance, Sir Robert Borden, the Canadian Premier, returned from it convinced that nothing but conscription could bring about the required reinforcements for the Dominion army. His campaign in this direction led to the breach in the Dominion Liberal party and the triumph of conscription, supported by Canadians without regard to party in the general election.

The question of Asiatic immigration into the Dominion was also a much-discussed question at last year's meeting, not only in the Imperial War Cabinet, but in the accompanying Imperial War Conference. The result is seen in the good will established between the representatives from India and the dominions.

To this year's Conference the delegates came with special missions from their own countries. For example, Australia and New Zealand desired to impress upon the London Cabinet their anxiety lest Germany should again get a footing in the Pacific, and Canada has many military, financial, economic, and industrial problems in friendly co-operation with the United States to present.

The present Imperial War Cabinet is no mere continuance of the pre-war Imperial Council, discussing academic resolutions at length and making recommendations to the British Government on naturalization, taxation, trade-marks, patents, and other subjects. It is no cabinet in name and conference in fact. It represents the extension of the British Empire's organization.

At the opening session there were the representatives of over four hundred million human beings. Most of the great races, most of the great faiths, were represented. The dominion Premiers and other Ministers, and the Maharaja of Patiala and Sir S. P. Sinha, delegates from India, were welcomed as "our Cabinet colleagues" by Mr. Lloyd George, British Prime Minister.

While England's fleet has held at bay the enemy's fleet, and has, in the main, dealt with a deadlier peril under the waters, what Great Britain as an Empire has done on land is something new, asserted Mr. Lloyd George, not merely in the British Empire's history, but in that of any other empire. When the war began, Britain at home had a small army about the size of the Bulgarian army, he affirmed. But the dominions had no army at all. Including those under arms when war was declared, the United Kingdom has raised nearly six million men for sea and land. The dominions have raised a million, and India nearly a million, and she is about to raise another half-million.

But what manner of men are these? The Premier proceeded:

> Germany expected to meet raw levies; brave enough, but easily swept and scattered away by highly trained and highly disciplined legionaries. . . . Instead of that, they have encountered men who have defeated their proudest warriors in a hundred fights, and . . . have . . . baffled the carefully prepared plans of Prussia's greatest generals, and have hurled back the gigantic assault of her most seasoned warriors.

Thus, while the war has taught many lessons, it has taught no more striking lesson, as the speaker proudly and justly asserted, than the lesson of the British Empire's power. And why this power? Mr. Lloyd George answered in these words:

> The Kaiser has proclaimed to the world that God gave Hindenburg and Ludendorff to him and to Germany. I wonder who gave the British Empire to his enemies. He could easily find out if he would only ask some learned divine to tell him

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who planted in the heart of man wrath against injustice, abhorrence of inhumanity, and the love of freedom.

It is these divine passions that have raised the British Empire from north to south, from the far east to the far west, in one brotherhood of arms against the deeds and designs of Prussian despotism.

Not only Germans; every one has underestimated the reality and strength of the bonds that unite the British Empire—invisible bonds, if you will.

Corresponding to this invisible, informal unity there is now arising a unity both visible and formal. The rise of the Imperial War Cabinet marks a constitutional change which is working out rapidly, if instinctively, in the British Empire under the pressure of war conditions. Its assembling at this time is Lloyd George's way of cutting the Gordian knot of constitutional anomalies which deprived the outlying portions of the British Empire of any direct voice in the control and direction of the business that is common to all.

The British Empire has long been a constitutional anomaly. Nominally an empire, it is in reality a loosely knit union of free nations owing allegiance to a common sovereign, who reigns, but does not govern. There is no democracy on earth more free in reality than the Dominion of Canada. In the management of its own internal affairs the Dominion is free and unfettered. The same is true of Newfoundland, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. But in the control of foreign policy these dominions have had no voice. The motherland alone has shaped the policies and determined the issues that make for war or peace. In the making of the momentous decision of the early days of August, 1914, the dominions had no share. As it happened, that decision commanded their unanimous and enthusiastic approval; but if Canada or Australia had been of different opinion neither could have remained neutral. When the motherland is at war, the whole Empire is at war.

No such anomalous system could endure forever. The control of the foreign policy of all could not be left forever to the exclusive control of only one of the British commonwealths. The system was simply a relic of the old colonial days when Canada, Australia, and the other dominions were in their infancy. That it remained so long unchanged was due to the fact that, anomalous as it seemed and was, it worked well enough in times of peace, and the overseas dominions were too busy with their own problems of internal development to press for constitutional change. The great war has hastened a development which was bound to come if the British Empire is to endure.

The formation of the Imperial War Cabinet is designed to give the dominions the voice in the direction of affairs which is their due by reason of their sacrifices in the war. Something more than a "War" Cabinet must succeed it. The shaping of a permanent policy of Empire government which, without sacrifice of autonomy by any of the self-governing parts of the British Empire, will provide for joint control of common affairs is not the least of the great problems to be solved after the war.

THE PROBLEM OF PROHIBITION IN WAR TIME

THE use of distilled liquors as a beverage has inflicted incalculable injury upon every community where they have been so used. Our almshouses and jails bear abundant witness to this fact. An enemy in times of peace, in war times these liquors have been doubly an enemy. Hence, where the alcoholic content of beverages is alarmingly high, as in absinthe and *vodka*, they have been abolished by the French and Russian Governments. In the United States the use as a beverage of distilled liquors with forty to fifty per cent of alcohol, as in brandy, gin, and rum, has been common and in its effects disastrous. We also have our wines with a far less percentage of alcohol and our beers with still less. What to do to regulate, check, or absolutely prevent the evils growing out of this ill use of liquor as a beverage has been one of the most perplexing questions of our National life. The solution of this problem has been met by a great variety of experiments.

By higher licenses we have tried to reduce the number and improve the quality and character of the saloons, but we have found it impracticable to enforce any discrimination in the kind of liquor which a saloon-keeper may sell, or the conditions under which and the persons to whom he may sell liquor.

Certain States have adopted local option—that is, they permit communities (in some States towns, in others counties) to decide whether liquor shall be sold within their boundaries or not. Eighteen States have local-option laws. In many of the local-option States a large proportion of the territory is really "dry." Thus in Kentucky fully three-fourths of the State is "dry," and in Delaware only one spot is not "dry."

In some States, where the majority sentiment is against liquor-selling, it has been prohibited in the entire State. Twenty-eight of the forty-eight States in the Union have prohibitory laws. These States are popularly known as "dry" States, the non-prohibitory States as "wet" States. So the opposing forces have come to be called the "wets" and the "drys."

Prohibition in these States is of many kinds, varying in the severity of the laws and the strictness of their administration. Thus in the "dry" State of Washington a man may bring in liquor for his own use, while in Kansas the possession of liquor is *prima facie* evidence of guilt and subjects the possessor to severe penalties of fine and imprisonment.

In some of these "dry" States prohibition has shown itself effective; but all the "dry" States have suffered because liquor has been allowed to come in from other States contrary to the will of the people. As a result Congress enacted the so-called Webb-Kenyon Bill. It provides that liquor shall not be shipped into a State contrary to its will. The United States Supreme Court has upheld the constitutionality of this law.

Out of these local and State enactments has grown a National prohibition movement. The sentiment in favor of National prohibition is due primarily to the growing belief that the evils of the liquor traffic can be overcome only by National action. But it has received a great impulse from the growing conviction that it is necessary as a war measure. Accordingly, last December Congress passed a resolution submitting to the States an amendment to the Federal Constitution prohibiting the manufacture, sale, transportation, importation, and exportation of all alcoholic beverages. This amendment limits the State to seven years in which to vote yes or no upon the question of ratification. Even with this limitation there is ample time for the accomodation of personal habits and corporate industries to the new rule of the Nation. To make this new Constitutional amendment effective thirty-six of the States must ratify it; it has now been ratified by the following thirteen States:

Arizona	Maryland	South Carolina
Delaware	Massachusetts	South Dakota
Georgia	Mississippi	Texas
Kentucky	Montana	Virginia
	North Dakota	

But this Constitutional amendment changes nothing *now*, and *now*, while all the best energies of the Nation are needed to win the war, some radical change is of the first importance. Congress has recognized this fact, for some months before it passed the resolution submitting the Constitutional amendment to the States it passed what may prove to be an epoch-making law in our history. This law prohibited (1) the importation of distilled spirits; (2) the use of foods, grains, and fruits in the manufacture of distilled liquors for the use of alcoholic beverages; (3) it authorized the President to commandeer any distilled spirits for redistillation so far as necessary to provide alcohol for munition requirements; (4) to limit, regulate, or prohibit the use of foods, grains, and fruits in the production of wine or beer whenever, in his judgment, prohibition was necessary in order to assure an adequate, continuous supply of food.

As a result, distillation was stopped on September 10, 1917, throughout the country, and there has been no use of foodstuffs since that date for this purpose. There proved, however, to be in stock at that time between two and three years' supply of whisky, brandy, gin, etc., and this stock is in the course of distribution, as the new law provided only for the stoppage of new

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supplies. There was found to be no necessity for commandeering the distilled spirits for redistillation into munitions alcohol, as, aside from the technical difficulties in the way, commercial alcohol can be obtained, not only abundantly, but on a much cheaper basis than could be had through commandeering and redistilling potable spirits. Nor was action taken with regard to wines, as those produced here are from grapes, very few of which are available for food, so that the stoppage of wine-making would add no considerable amount of food to our National supply. The consumption of foodstuffs in the brewing of beer was limited to seventy per cent of that used during the corresponding period of the previous year. As a result, the production of beer has been reduced nearly one-half—from about 108,000,000 to about 55,500,000 gallons. At the same time the Food Administration reduced the alcoholic content in beer to 2¾ per cent.

With this result the "drys" are not satisfied. In order to compel the President to prohibit all manufacture of wines and beers under the discretion given him by the preceding Act, the House of Representatives adopted an amendment to the Appropriation Bill providing that six million dollars of the money appropriated be not expended unless the President should first issue a proclamation prohibiting during the war the use of cereals and fruits in manufacturing beer and light wines. To this amendment Mr. Hoover and the President objected, on the ground that if brewing were stopped to-day beer would disappear from the liquor trade within one or two months, while the sale of distilled liquor would continue. The question, Mr. Hoover said, "arouses the very serious moral problem as to whether infinitely more damage will not result from such action than in the continuation of the use of this limited amount of foodstuffs in brewing," and he contended that if the American people wanted prohibition they should prohibit by legislation to that end and not force the Food Administration, acting under the President's order, to assume the responsibility "for an orgy of drunkenness," for, he said, "it is mighty difficult to get drunk on about two and three-quarters per cent beer; it would be easy enough if we force a substitution of distilled drinks for it."

As a result of this objection a new amendment has now been proposed, prohibiting until the conclusion of the present war the sale of alcoholic liquor after December 31, 1918, and after November 1, 1918, the use of grains, cereals, or fruits in the manufacture of wine and beer. The Fuel Administration has furnished an additional reason for prohibiting the brewing industry and an additional method for effecting this prohibition. On July 3 it curtailed the consumption of fuel for each brewery to half of the average annual amount of fuel consumed during 1915, 1916, and 1917. On July 10 it took a far more drastic step. It notified the manufacturers of beer and other malt products that they could not count on a supply of coal beyond that needed to utilize the raw materials on hand.

A further impulse has been given to the anti-brewery legislation by the practical unanimity of all the operators engaged in the mining of bituminous coal that the output of coal is very seriously interfered with by the existence of the saloons in the neighborhood of the mines and by the fact that where saloons have been abolished, as in the neighborhood of the shipyards, the industry has proved more effective and the work has been greatly expedited.

The testimony as to the injury of alcoholism to the production of coal is from the National Coal Association, composed of bituminous operators, which recommends Nation-wide prohibition during the war. It says:

> In the opinion of the representative committee of operators—it comprises in its membership delegates from virtually every large coal-producing field in the Nation—the country cannot have both "booze" and sufficient coal this winter. Nor can the country keep "booze" in the mining sections now and have enough coal later on. . . . The National Coal Association is informed that the conclusion is not only the judgment of the operators, but is concurred in by Frank Farrington, President of the United Mine Workers of America for the State of Illinois.

The Coal Association concludes, in a statement presented by its committee to the President of the United States, that "a comparison of the records of production of mines in wet and dry territories furnishes ample proof of the need of prohibition."

As to the success of prohibiting liquor in the shipyards, Secretary of the Navy Daniels, in testifying before the Senate Committee on Agriculture, declared:

> In the yards great improvement was wrought by the introduction of prohibition. Many protested, particularly at Mare Island. There are some who are opposed to-day. But the fact remains that at the Mare Island yard a destroyer was recently completed in record time. . . . The workers in the shipyards are as patriotic as men in the Army or Navy, and they are quite as ready to make any sacrifices needed to win the war. Prohibition was opposed in the Navy by a large number of officers who feared its effect on the men, but there are mighty few to-day who would go back to the old order of things.

In the light of these facts, it may be seen that there are two distinct prohibition questions before the country. One is the question of permanent prohibition; the other is the question of war-time emergency prohibition. One is the question whether prohibition should be the settled policy of the Nation in all the years to come; the other is the question whether prohibition should be adopted as a war measure to increase the resources and power of the Nation for war purposes, and to last for the duration of the war. The Constitutional amendment which has been submitted to the States for ratification deals with the question of prohibition as a permanent policy. The authority which has been exercised by the President and the provision now before Congress deal with prohibition as a war emergency measure.

These two questions are distinct, and can be considered separately. It is possible and not inconsistent to favor one of them and to disapprove the other. It is, for example, possible and not inconsistent to advocate prohibition as a permanent policy, but at the same time to hold that the benefit of war emergency prohibition would not equal the injury it might cause. On the other hand, it is possible and not inconsistent to advocate prohibition as a war measure, and at the same time to hold that prohibition ought not to be adopted as a provision of the National Constitution.

Loyalty to the Nation and to the Nation's cause requires that every consideration of domestic policy shall be held subordinate to the winning of the war. One thing alone is paramount—victory. If we win the war, we can be free to settle questions of domestic policy, but if we lose the war we shall not be free to settle questions of domestic policy or carry out those which we undertake to settle.

At the same time the question of permanent National prohibition is before the country and cannot be ignored. It has been approved by Congress and by thirteen States. There is every indication of a rapidly growing sentiment throughout the Nation in favor of National prohibition. In order that prohibition be made effective it must have the support of public opinion. This has been the secret of the success of the local-option movement. By the local-option vote the question of public opinion is settled in a community before the sale of liquor is prohibited. Where local option has shown that public opinion against the sale of liquor prevails throughout a State it has almost invariably, perhaps quite invariably, proved that State prohibition is effective. Now what has happened by the spread of local option to the State is happening in the growth of public opinion against the sale of liquor throughout the Nation. The best evidence of this is the vote in favor of National prohibition in the House of Representatives and the vote ratifying the prohibition amendment by one State after another. Unless a group of contiguous populous States vote against the amendment the adoption of National prohibition by the required three-quarters of the States will be a demonstration that the Nation as a whole is ready for National prohibition and can and will make it effective.

The form of Constitutional provision which we should have preferred to that now before the country would have been one empowering Congress to enact a prohibition law. We gave our reasons for this opinion when the subject was up for discussion. That water, however, has flowed over the dam. That question is closed. As the question now stands, a serious responsibility rests upon the most populous States of the country. The vote of each of these counts but one out of the forty-eight States, but the power to make prohibition effective or ineffective is proportionately much greater. Such States as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Missouri, Texas,

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Massachusetts, and California bear a special responsibility to the Nation. If the rest of these States join Massachusetts and Texas in the ratification of the amendment, there will be no doubt as to the effectiveness of National prohibition.

But the process of making a Constitutional change is necessarily a slow one, and the war will not wait. While the process goes on not only are foodstuffs used for the making of alcoholic drink, but human energy which ought to be utilized to the full against the common enemy is being wasted and enfeebled by the evils of alcoholism. Emergency war prohibition is therefore proposed as a measure that will help us to victory. If it is such, no consideration of special interests should stand in its way. The country has already recognized the necessity of some action on this subject, and through the power of the Executive granted by Congress has prohibited the distillation of hard liquor. This has saved some foodstuffs; but the sale of hard liquor already distilled, except where prohibited by local or State law, continues.

In response to a widespread demand that not only the manufacture but also the sale of liquor be Nationally prohibited during the war the amendment to which we have referred was attached to the Agricultural Appropriation Bill. This amendment proposed to prohibit the sale of beer and wine at once, but postponed for a year or more the prohibition of the sale of hard liquor. Such a measure would have saved some foodstuffs at the expense of manhood. It would have encouraged furtive drinking and drunkenness and replaced the lesser evils of alcoholism by the greater. Thanks to the Administration, and particularly to Mr. Hoover, that injurious provision was withdrawn. The one which has been substituted, and bears the name of Senator Gore, of Oklahoma, is better, but it falls short of what Congress ought to do.

Some of the opposition to this provision is not to its substance, but to the way it has been introduced. It is hard for the ordinary citizen to understand how parliamentary procedure may involve a moral question. One of the ways by which tricky politicians attempt, sometimes successfully, to "put over" bad legislation is to attach it as a rider to an appropriation bill. In this way they make it impossible for the legislative body to defeat their measure without cutting off the necessary money for a department of the Government. This sort of trick is no better when it is adopted for a good purpose. Our readers know that we are strongly opposed to the zone system of postage. It was suggested that this system be abolished by a rider to the Postal Appropriation Bill. If such a rider were to be seriously proposed, we should protest. There are few evils as great as tricky legislative practices. Emergency war prohibition ought not to be put over by a trick. It ought to be adopted on its merits.

Such a law ought to specify the alcoholic content of potable liquor, and prohibit, not only the manufacture, but also the sale, of all that exceeds that percentage, including whatever may be sold under the guise of medicine. People who consume quantities of alcohol when they pretend to be, or think they are, taking medicine are alcoholized as truly as if their alcohol was otherwise flavored. Such emergency war prohibition, if enacted, would not have left hundreds of thousands of gallons of whisky, gin, and brandy in bond, free to be sold, and would have prevented abuses that have interfered with the prosecution of the war.

We repeat what we have said before, that Congress ought promptly to enact emergency war prohibition.

THE WAR WORK OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

BY CLARENCE OUSLEY

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

WHILE I have not always, by any means, concurred in the views expressed by The Outlook, I have entertained a good opinion of it because of its character in general and of its apparent desire to get the facts and to interpret them impartially. I was therefore surprised to read certain statements in The Outlook of June 19. Some of these statements fill me with concern because of their inaccuracy and the injustice they do to the Department and to the Secretary of Agriculture. I refer to the statements made in the article under the heading "The Administration: An Appraisal," by an anonymous writer who is referred to as "one on the inside," and to a statement in the editorial comment, under the heading "Food and Water," to the effect that the increased crop production "is due mainly of course to patriotic response of our farmers to the Food Administration's appeal."

I have no disposition to discuss any one's estimate of an officer of the Government or to combat mere expressions of opinion. I do, however, seriously object to misstatements of fact. It is difficult to be patient with such criticism of the Secretary of Agriculture as is contained in the article by "one on the inside." It is the more provoking when it comes from one of whom the editors affirm "it is sufficient to say that the writer of this article is in a position of responsibility in one of the branches of the Government's service." Considering merely the statement of facts, it seems clear that the "insider" has no real knowledge of the work of the Secretary and of the Department of Agriculture. It seems equally clear that he knows nothing of the great allies of the Department of Agriculture who share with it the responsibility for production. I refer to the great State agricultural colleges. So far as the references to the Secretary are concerned, an hour's honest investigation would have disclosed outstanding facts in refutation of the assertion of "grave failures of omission." The "insider" asserts that there are "grave failures of omission," but he neglects to state what they are. I would challenge him to indicate any helpful, constructive action which should have been taken in reference to food production which the Department and its allies, the agricultural colleges, have not engaged in.

It would take a volume to indicate all the things they have done. Only a brief summary of the plans, action, and achievements of the Department under the Secretary's direction can be attempted here.

A few days before the United States entered the war the Secretary called a conference at St. Louis, Missouri, of agricultural leaders from all sections of the United States east of the Rocky Mountains. At this conference all phases of the agricultural situation were thoroughly discussed, and a comprehensive programme for further organization, legislation, and action with reference to production, conservation, and marketing was drawn up, the principal features of which have been put into effect or enacted into law without substantial change. As farmers had already made their plans for the season, it was necessary that prompt action be taken to carry out the suggestions made in the programme. The Department and the agricultural colleges in the various States immediately proceeded to redirect their activities and to devote all their energies along the most promising lines with the funds and forces at their command. Every effort was made to stimulate production, to encourage the adoption of improved methods and practices, to combat animal and plant diseases, insect pests, predatory animals and rodents, and to promote better marketing. Farm help specialists were promptly stationed in nearly every State of the Union to co-operate with the State officials, and especially with the Department of Labor, in assisting farmers to secure adequate supplies of labor, particularly for the planting and harvesting seasons. During the summer an intensive campaign was conducted to insure the conservation of surplus fruits and vegetables. As a result, many millions of dollars' worth of materials were saved for future use, and, although the production of perishables increased more than fifty per cent, the difficulties of marketing were relatively no greater than in normal times.

On August 10, 1917, Congress passed the Food Produc-

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tion Act, which, like the Food Control Act, was conceived at the St. Louis conference, carrying an appropriation of $11,346,400. With these funds the work of the Department has been rapidly expanded and developed in many directions. This is especially true of the agricultural demonstration work which is conducted in co-operation with the agricultural colleges in the various States. The editors of The Outlook certainly knew of this work in its earlier stages under the direction of the late Dr. Seaman A. Knapp. There are now employed in this great educational system approximately six thousand county agents, home demonstration agents, boys' and girls' club leaders, specialists in the various phases of agriculture, and others. These agents are carrying directly to the farmers on their own farms the latest and best scientific and practical information available in the Department of Agriculture and the agricultural colleges. They are not only rendering valuable service to the Nation in this way, but they are also assisting other branches of the Government, such as the Treasury Department, the Food Administration, and the Red Cross, in their war activities.

Three excerpts from the Dallas "News," which came to me on the evening I read The Outlook, will serve to illustrate the activities of the demonstration agents:

> H. L. Capps, expert canner from Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, is expected to arrive this morning to relieve Mrs. T. P. Marshall, director of the Adolphus Community Cannery, who plans to leave to-day for a short vacation. Mrs. Marshall said she would be at the cannery this morning to get Mr. Capps started into the routine.

> An average of fifty men daily are being sent to various threshing outfits of the county through the office of the County Agricultural Agent, C. O. Moser, at the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers' Association. Entire crews for some of the sixty-five threshing machines in the county are being occasionally arranged.

> Several very important business matters are to come up at the meeting of the Dallas County Agricultural Advisory Board at 12:15 o'clock this afternoon at the Oriental Hotel, and all members are urged to attend. The matter of securing sixty additional silos for Dallas County, reports of the grain and the wool marketing committees, and discussion of the contemplated plan of the Government to levy a five-cent-per-pound tax on lint cotton and to fix cotton prices will be among the most important subjects to be considered.

The community canner, under the instruction of the experts of the Department and the College, has conserved 15,000 cans of fruits and vegetables, and probably will conserve as much more before the season ends. The county agent has secured and sent to the farms more than 800 city men to work in the harvest fields. The county Agricultural Advisory Board is composed of representative farmers and a few sympathetic business men, and it helps the county agent to direct the activities of more than 5,000 farmers who are enrolled in the county agents' organization for information and assistance. These farmers last year, under that leadership, increased their food products twenty per cent. A detailed record of one year's accomplishments of the Department and the College in that county would fill two or three issues of The Outlook, and yet Dallas County is only one of 2,450 out of 2,850 agricultural counties in the United States served by the Department of Agriculture and the forty-eight agricultural colleges.

The Bureau of Plant Industry has given special attention to plant disease and seed problems, and it has conducted special campaigns to reduce the losses from the smuts of wheat and other cereal crops, to eradicate the barberry plant, to locate and make available adequate supplies of good seed potatoes and field beans, to conserve the sweet-potato crop, to improve the methods of handling and harvesting peanuts, and along many other lines. With an appropriation of $6,500,000 provided by Congress it has purchased and made available to farmers in regions where emergency conditions prevailed, especially in Texas and the Middle West, large quantities of seeds of staple crops for cash at cost.

The Bureau of Animal Industry has greatly extended its efforts to reduce the losses from animal diseases. It has made disease control one of its major war activities. It is actively combating hog cholera, the cattle-fever tick, sheep and cattle scabies, influenza or shipping fever in horses, and animal tuberculosis. In the last two years the losses from hog cholera alone decreased fifty per cent. It has conducted an intensive campaign to secure an increase of fifteen per cent in the pork output, and also to increase the supply of poultry and eggs. Live-stock demonstration work to encourage beef production has been extended into areas formerly infested by the cattle-fever tick, and specialists in sheep husbandry are working in a number of States. A Nation-wide campaign to stimulate the consumption of cottage cheese and other dairy products also is in progress.

The Bureau of Markets has very greatly developed its market news services for perishables, live stock, and dairy and poultry products. These services, as you may know, furnish to producers reliable and accurate information regarding market conditions, and thereby enable them to dispose of their products to the best advantage. The Bureau also has rendered assistance to farmers in all directions in the marketing of their crops. With an appropriation of $10,000,000, included in the Food Control Act, 120,000 tons of nitrate of soda were purchased by the War Industries Board for sale to farmers for fertilizer use. The Bureau of Markets was charged with the task of distributing the nitrate to farmers after its arrival at ports in this country. While many difficulties have been encountered in this work, approximately 75,000 tons have been or are being delivered to the farmers. Unfortunately, it has been impossible for the Shipping Board to assign vessels for the importation of the nitrate at the rate originally contemplated.

Under the authority contained in the Food Control Act, the President has issued proclamations directing that the ammonia industry, the farm-equipment industry, the fertilizer industry, and the stock-yards industry be placed under license, and the Secretary of Agriculture has been charged with the duty of administering these tasks.

The Department has omitted no opportunity to consult producers in carrying out its plans and activities. It has held many sectional conferences. Early in the year the Secretary and the Food Administrator formed a National Farmers' Advisory Committee, consisting of able representatives from all sections of the Union. The Chairman of the Executive Committee, who is also Chairman of the National Committee, will reside in Washington, to be in touch with the Department and the Food Administration, and to serve also in the machinery of the War Industries Board. In this way he, and through him the members of the Committee and the producers of the Union, will have a very direct opportunity to see the problems, to take part in discussions of measures under contemplation, and to assist in arriving at wise conclusions.

The writer further states that the Secretary "has steadily discounted the gravity of his task, has disposed of the imposing farm labor problem chiefly by saying that no labor shortage exists, and has generally let things drag." All this is simply untrue. What has just been said about the activities in general would indicate this. All last year, and increasingly this year, there have been farm labor difficulties. The Department has kept accurate record of them by regions, by States, by counties, by neighborhoods, and by farms. Any day for the last twelve months I could have told the "insider" precisely what the difficulties were in each State and county. But the Department has refused to fall into hysteria or panic. If it had listened to the wailings of the pessimists, it could not have persuaded farmers to increase their wheat acreage ten per cent this year, because they would not have sown where they could not hope to reap. Instead, the Department of Agriculture, in co-operation with the Department of Labor and State officials, week by week and day by day has co-operated with the farmers to overcome labor difficulties by helping one another; by shifting labor from one neighborhood or county to another as the strain passed; by using more labor-saving machinery; by diversifying crops so as to distribute the seasonal labor demand; by searching out city laborers willing to go back to the farm; by stimulating local public opinion to frown upon useless employment in the towns and cities; by organizing boys and women for the lighter farm tasks; and, finally, by persuading business men of farm experience in the towns and cities, if necessary, to give a few days at a time to help the farmers in cultivation and harvest. Hundreds of chambers of commerce, local

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defense councils, and other groups of citizens have been induced to take leadership in these local efforts, because the Department has no legal powers of coercion or enlistment. More than thirty thousand men and women of the Kansas towns, for example, responding to the appeal of the Department and of the agricultural colleges, volunteered for the harvest, and like movements have been conducted in every agricultural State.

By such means the crops have been cultivated; by such means the crops will be harvested. Our man power is not yet exhausted, but labor difficulties may be greater next year. More and more it will be necessary to mobilize town men for farm labor. More and more the labor employed for the comfort and convenience of city dwellers must be released for the farms; but nothing is to be accomplished by calamity-howling or famine prophecies, which serve only to dishearten our people, to foment discontent, and to encourage the enemy.

The writer adds further that the farmers distrust Mr. Houston's optimism, and with reason. Whether Mr. Houston has been unduly optimistic is open to grave doubt. It is true he has not been hysterical and has not been swept off his feet. He has had confidence in what the American farmers could do. He has realized that there were grave difficulties, but was convinced that the fifty million people in rural districts, assisted so far as possible by the people in urban communities, could surmount the difficulties. The results have justified his confidence. They speak for themselves. Last year, in spite of all the difficulties, the farmers of the Nation, with the assistance of the Department and the colleges, planted 23,000,000 acres more of the leading food crop than they did in 1916, produced record crops of most products except wheat—the partial failure of which was in no wise due to them, since they planted a large acreage—and increased the number of all classes of live stock as follows: horses, 353,000, or 1.7 per cent; mules, 101,000, or 2.1 per cent; milch cows, 390,000, or 1.7 per cent; other cattle, 1,857,000, or 4.5 per cent; sheep, 1,284,000, or 2.7 per cent; and swine, 3,871,000, or 5.7 per cent.

The indications to date are that they will do even better this year. Last fall they planted the record winter-wheat acreage; this spring, the record spring-wheat acreage. The last report indicates that we shall have more than 890,000,000 bushels of wheat. This, on the basis of a normal and extravagant consumption, would allow 600,000,000 bushels for domestic use and an exportable surplus of 290,000,000 bushels. The indications also are that the rye production will exceed that of the record year by 21,000,000 bushels—more than double the output in peace times; that the production of barley will be increased by 21,000,000 bushels; and that oats will nearly equal the record crop of 1917, exceeding the five-year average by over 141,000,000 bushels. The condition of the cotton crop exceeds the ten-year average, as does also that of all hay and pastures. It is too early to speak of the corn crop, but the indications are that the acreage will be large. That the farmers are primarily responsible for these results, and that they deserve the credit, goes without saying; but it is unfair not to recognize the great assistance rendered by the Federal and State Departments and colleges, and the tremendous part they have played in bringing about better food conditions for this Nation and for the Allies.

Where the writer gets his information that the farmers distrust Mr. Houston is not known. The indications do not point to that conclusion. The group of men who constitute the National Farmers' Advisory Committee perhaps can speak with better authority than the "insider." The views of the Committee, as expressed at its meeting in Washington during the latter part of March, are indicated by the following extracts from a resolution adopted by it:

> We recognize the great value of the work of the Department of Agriculture in stimulating and encouraging agricultural production, and in the dissemination of valuable information to the producers of the country.
>
> Finally, we wish to convey to the Department of Agriculture and to the Food Administration our assurances of confidence, and to pledge to them and to each of them our cordial co-operation in the great service which they are rendering to the Nation and to the world.

As to the assertion in the editorial "Food and Water" that the response of the farmers was due to the appeals of the Food Administration, one can only emphasize what has been said about the leadership of the Department and of the agricultural colleges. The responsibility for leadership in the field of production has rested on these two agencies, and they have assumed it. I have already given you some indication as to the character of their activities. Unquestionably, officials of the Food Administration have made appeals, and they have been helpful and welcome; but to ignore the other two agencies or to fail to attribute to them their due share of credit is utterly unjust. To quote the words of the Secretary:

> The farmers have occupied the first-line trenches of the food army. They and the agencies assisting them, the Federal Agricultural Department and the State colleges and Departments of Agriculture, were prepared when we entered the war, and had been for years. They were charged with the responsibility for maintaining and increasing food production. How they have discharged their tasks the results of last year's production operations and of this year eloquently testify. But farmers are not spectacular performers; they never are. They do not furnish sensations and headlines. They have no fixed labor day. They work in season and out of season, from early morning till dusk; but they do not work in the limelight. They are not in the view of people living in cities, the centers of intense publicity.
>
> Urban dwellers ordinarily devote very little thought to rural districts and to sources of food supply. Heretofore they have not had to think much about food. If it is abundant, as it usually is, they take it for granted. If it becomes scarce, they develop hysteria and an amazing capacity for making suggestions. Within the last year city people have manifested an intense interest in food, and, not knowing their Government, some of them have developed the highly interesting proposal that some Government agency should be created to give attention to production. They have seen windows placarded and papers filled with pleas for conservation, for investments in Liberty Bonds, and for subscriptions to the Red Cross. They have wondered why they have not seen similar evidence of activity in the field of production. They do not know of the thousands of men and women quietly working in every rural community of the Nation and the millions of bulletins and circulars dealing with the problems from hundreds of angles. They forget that the field of work lies outside the city. They do not recognize that both the problem and the method are different.
>
> It is one thing to ask a man to save. It is one thing to ask a man to invest in Liberty Bonds. These things tremendously aid the Nation; but they are also a certain benefit to the individual. It is another thing to ask a man to put his labor and capital into the production of food, facing the hazard of the weather, of distribution, and of the market. Advice to him to do so is one thing; assistance to him to lessen his hazard is another. And such assistance is furnished so quietly that a great part of the Nation knows nothing of it and innocently assumes that nothing is done.

Perhaps comparatively few farmers know Mr. Houston; fewer still know the modest bio-chemist in the east wing of the Department's laboratory buildings who discovered hog cholera serum. But all progressive farmers know the Department, and all successful hog-raisers know serum. Mr. Houston does not advertise himself; he despises the kind of notoriety that the shallow-minded enjoy. He is a thoughtful, painstaking economist, with a broad knowledge of agriculture gained from contact with the soil and experience in administration. I have known him for fifteen years while both of us were pursuing modest—and, I dare to say, useful—lives in Texas, undreaming of world war or National responsibility, and, least of all, seeking public preferment. I have known many public men; I never knew one more conscientious, more patriotic, or more thorough in the mastery of the details of his responsibility. I am not beholden to him for any office or distinction that I desired. I came here at his request to help him with a hard war job, and I will be glad when it is finished, as, I am sure, he will be. As a citizen in a position to know what his critics could know if they would take the pains to learn, I protest against the misrepresentation in The Outlook of a faithful and efficient public servant and several thousand equally faithful and efficient public servants associated with him and directed by him, who admire him and follow him as an executive worthy and capable of administering the most efficient Department of Agriculture in the world.

Department of Agriculture, Washington, July 18, 1918.

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MOTT, MEN, AND MILLIONS

BY JOSEPH H. ODELL

CORRESPONDENT OF THE OUTLOOK IN FRANCE

"JOHN R. MOTT must ask Americans for one hundred million dollars in October"! That is what broke up my summer; dislocated the family programme; drove me out onto the fiend-infested Atlantic; made me ready to face short rations, bedless nights, the agony of seeing brave men suffer in silence, the soulless and senseless rain of long-distance shells upon Paris, the hazards of the craggy Italian front, and all the other nameless horrors of the fighting zones.

"John R. Mott needs one hundred million dollars"! Who is John R. Mott? The most constructive religious genius since John Wesley. Yes, but that is not all, by any means. This is what I wrote of him in The Outlook of November 25, 1911:

"This man—who has influenced more young men than any other man living, who is the most widely known figure in the academic life of five continents, and who to-day is the leading force in aggressive Christianity—of what kind is he? He is stamped with all the characteristics of a man of destiny. The forehead that rises crag-like from bushy brows, the square jaw unconsciously pushed out when speaking as if to meet and defy opposition, the eyes which sweep and pierce at the same time, the neck which bears the head with a grace and strength that make you think of a pillar in the Parthenon, the body which suggests muscles trained for endurance—all combine to indicate a man who can master men and dominate situations. He is a man built for conquests.

"If one may go back into Christian history, it is not too much to say that Mott has the passion and vision of St. Francis Xavier, the courage and audacity of Hildebrand, the ecclesiastical statesmanship of Pope Innocent III. He has dreamed what those men dreamed, and he is making his dreams come true. His faith in the work he is doing is like a sanctified infatuation. He has the imperial qualities in a superlative degree—constructive vision, determination, and a delight in detail. I have seen him electrify an audience made up of distinguished men and convince them of things they did not wish to believe, and yet he never raised his voice, hardly made a gesture. He marshaled his facts as a general brings up his forces, every unit supporting every other unit. His imagination and personal knowledge of the nations led him to seize every strategic point on the world-wide field. His sentences were tense and vibrant, the clarions of command. He is to-day the field-marshal of belligerent Christendom, and nearly every section of the Christian Church accepts his leadership. This power to unify and co-ordinate the hitherto disorganized and disrupted forces is unique. To what church or denomination does he belong? I confess that I cannot tell, although I have known Mott for years. And nobody cares. I asked the question because I have never heard it asked. Every one realizes that he is far too big to stay within sectarian limits. You cannot classify a man who deals with nothing but intellectual, moral, and spiritual essentials."

Well, that description was written seven years ago, just after I had been finding evidences of Mott's statecraft in Great Britain, France, Egypt, Ceylon, India, Burma, the Malay States, China, and Japan. During the intervening years half the things we thought to have been established in the world have been knocked to pieces. But I am glad that I wrote just as I did, because to-day Mott is looming up bigger and stronger and wiser than ever amid the wreckage of shattered realms, ruined systems, and blasted reputations. Since the beginning of the catastrophe Mott has reached out his arms in a hundred directions to gather together the fragments of the old smashed world, and with them to begin building a new world. Have you thought that French is gone, and Kitchener, and Joffre, and Cadorna, and the Grand Duke Michael, but that Mott still remains a generalissimo? Have you also thought that the names of the men that grow large through the reek of the war are all of four letters: Foch, Haig, Diaz, and Mott? President Wilson put Mott on the Mexican Commission, and later sent him to Russia with Elihu Root. But those are little things, mere drift indices of personality, the ribbons which hold the eyes of the uninitiated. The real things, the epochal things, are now half hidden in the smoke and half stifled amid the groans of battle. Within and behind that screen of pain and glory Mott is working out a new interpretation of religion—an interpretation so new and so immediately conclusive that multitudes of people at home do not understand yet that it is religion.

"Mott must have one hundred million dollars"! Why? To translate religion into the only terms which men in khaki, in navy blue, in Scotch plaids, in olive green, and in horizon blue can understand. To make truth a fair and companionable thing to men in debarkation camps, naval stations, rest billets, and front-line trenches. To make righteousness dogged in the rear-guard action and irresistible in the attack. To keep boys and men from going to the devil by default during the erratic nerve reactions following the red fury of battle. To hold at arm's length the vampires which always hover about the fringes of a camp. To carry echoes and memories and anticipations of home to the millions of men who are baring their breasts to save the home. To bring them back and up to their best selves.

And it is all so strange, so bizarre, so unconventional, and so uncanonical—this new interpretation of religion. It is a ministry that splays and ramifies into a hundred forms, all familiar enough in secular life, but many or most of them unique as religious phenomena—movies, boxing, wrestling, baseball, chewing-gum, tobacco, steaming coffee, tooth-brushes, dancing, vaudeville, singing, an itinerating system of education from kindergarten to university courses, soda-water fountains, shower-baths, grand opera, pens and paper and envelopes, banking, the Holy Sacraments—well, the list is endless. On the liner coming over I talked with Neysa McMein, who draws those magazine covers of glorious girls, and who told me of the pictures she intends to make for the boys; and with Mrs. Helen Bourne Wrenn, who will show the war-shaken men in the recuperation camps how to make dancing an exposition of harmony; and with forty or more other women who intend to sing and bake and play and recite and sew and wash dishes, and thus beat the devil to his prey by filling every avenue to the mind and heart with wholesome and beautiful occupations. Every one of these are wearing the Red Triangle and look to Mott as commanding general. There are already more than twenty-five hundred workers here, men and women of every type (clergymen, actors, engineers, entertainers, educators, canteen servers, physical instructors), and every single one of them with no other motive or plan than to help the soldiers—to help them to be braver, happier, wiser men.

Having seen the various enterprises in many of our camps and cantonments at home, supervised and correlated by the Commission on Training Camp Activities, and knowing rather well the scope and the cost of that work, I thought it behooved me to see what was being done in the places where life has grown poignant and desperate and where the future of humanity hangs upon the quality of the men who are God's last champions on earth against sublimated barbarity. Lord Northcliffe said recently: "Without the Y. M. C. A. we cannot win the war." If that is true, then Mott is the equivalent of brigades, divisions, armies; he is as essential as aircraft, artillery, and machine guns; he is one of the allies embattled to save civilization. Then I must see the Y. M. C. A. in action and tell the American people what I see. If Mott or the Y. M. C. A. is the equivalent of brigades, divisions, armies, the one-hundred-million-dollar demand will be oversubscribed in a joyous torrent of generosity. For, as I know Americans at home, they now dream, think, work, sacrifice, for one thing, and one only—to win the war so quickly and handsomely that despotism will never lift its head out of hell again.

I wonder whether the American people realize, even approximately understand, the magnitude of this work. Here are a few facts and figures picked out almost at random: The Y. M. C. A. is now working in six hundred centers in France;

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this year the Y will do a business totaling twenty million dollars in the canteens or post exchanges, and next year the sum is expected to mount to seventy-five millions; one single order of tobacco amounted to 1,337 tons; at one time 900,000 cigars were in the holds of ships rushing across the seas for sale to our men through the Y workers; three million boxes of matches are sold every thirty days; one shipment of athletic goods contained 132,000 baseballs, 24,000 bats, 1,500 masks, 2,500 catchers' mits, 15,000 fielders' mits, 21,000 indoor baseballs, 6,000 Rugby footballs, 8,000 soccer footballs, and 300 pairs of boxing-gloves.

Perhaps the figure which impresses me most is the two million pounds of chocolate a month! The nearest thing to this is three million pounds of crackers a month! It means that our boys spend about a million and a quarter dollars per month in chocolate, and a million and a half in crackers. Naturally, this means nothing to you at home, with stores close to your doorsteps; but to the men in a foreign land, in vast dreary camps or in dingy billets, or fresh from the trenches where they have burrowed and slept for days in mud and amid danger, the home luxuries sold by friendly hands and guaranteed to be pure are a marvelous boon.

One or two reports have reached America, I believe, to the effect that the Y. M. C. A. has been making a handsome profit out of these sales. Not having had the time yet to try out the system in the various establishments, I have taken the subject up with Mr. William Sloane, the Chairman of the War Council of the Y. M. C. A., who happens to be in France just at this moment. Mr. Sloane, sensitive and high-spirited concerning anything touching the work of the Y. M. C. A. for the soldiers, has authorized me to make the following statement:

"We have no intention to make any profit whatsoever in the post-exchange business. In determining the selling prices to the soldiers and sailors there is added to actual landed cost only a small percentage to cover losses by transportation or confiscation by the enemy; but this margin will be absolutely insufficient to equal the value of the supplies given free to the soldiers as they pass our Y. M. C. A. dugouts in the communication trenches on their way to and from the front-line positions. It is estimated that tobacco, chocolate, and coffee worth $2,000,000 will be distributed free during the next twelve months."

Any one would be a fool who should think that an organization doing an entirely new work in a new way, with thousands of workers who have been hastily recruited from all ranks of life, operating nearly four thousand miles away from its base of supplies, handling millions of dollars' worth of material a month, and amid the abnormally fevered conditions of the war zone, could go forward without a mistake or a misdirection. Certainly there will be some maladjustments, some errors of judgment, some mistakes of administration, some lack of prevision, here and there. Has there been none in the Army? If the Allied armies had been flawless, the Huns would have been back across the Rhine long ago.

But I am going to see for myself, to hear what the men themselves have to say about it, to watch its effect upon individual soldiers and Army units, to question commanding officers on its value to their troops. In a broad way, I know this already: that the French army wants the Y. M. C. A. and hundreds of Foyers du Soldat (the name given to the Y. M. C. A. huts among the French soldiers) have already been put into operation. Unfortunately, about one-quarter of these—over one hundred—had to be abandoned to the Germans during the drive between Rheims and Soissons in the opening days of June. After nearly four years of war the French military authorities would not call an American non-combatant organization into their army system unless they had conclusive evidence that it would be a vital factor in winning the war.

Miracles happen to-day in France. Things that have belonged only to the souls of high adventure are now the common traits of the million; experiments which would have been branded as the forlorn hope of superheated visionaries are here the routine tasks of multitudes. All that the bravest thinkers have dreamed of the full functions of the kingdom of heaven on earth men and women are realizing in unselfish service. When Mott asks for one hundred million dollars from America, he is simply assuming that America is spiritually akin to France.

Back of everything, penetrating and permeating everything, dominating everything, from the troop ship to the communication trenches, is the one idea that the Y. M. C. A. must help to win the war. Every one I meet, men and women, are obsessed by it. Preachers, entertainers, hut secretaries, refined women washing dishes, actors and actresses, educators, automobile drivers—all feel that the Y. M. C. A. will help to win the war. No one seems at all anxious to make converts to this or that sect or creed, no one has any idea of working for the Y. M. C. A. as an institutional end, no one is making or trying to make money out of the enterprise, no one appears to care about personal glory or honor; but every one is bent upon winning the war. Neither do personal jealousies nor envies crop out as they do elsewhere. Very many of the Y. M. C. A. secretaries are here on their own charges; all of them are receiving considerably less in monetary remuneration than they would have earned at home; not a few have made great sacrifices to enter the work. They seem quite content, being unable for various reasons to fight themselves, if they can make the American, British, colonial, French, and Italian soldiers a little more invincible in battle. That is the all-controlling motive.

"Mott needs one hundred million dollars"! Why? To reinterpret religion amid the appalling abnormalities of war; to keep alive the vital and primary habits of democracy in the lives of the enlisted men; to mobilize and intensify all the moral and physical forces of the Allied armies. The sum is none too great for the task; or, to put it in the words of a fellow-traveler: "It's a whale of a lot of money, but it's a whale of a job Mott's got."

Somewhere in France, June 22, 1918.

A NIGHT ON A TROOP TRAIN

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

SOME weeks ago I told in this correspondence ["How They Went Away"—The Outlook, May 15, 1918] the tale of how our men left camp, where their training for the great quest had been completed, to begin their long journey overseas. Since then I have been allowed, under the new order permitting Y secretaries to travel with the troops to which they have been assigned, to go a little farther with them than I went that night, and, knowing the interest of every father and mother in every step of the way that leads "over there," I want to tell the story of that night on the troop train that brought us in the morning to where the strangely painted ships waited, loaded and ready for the sea.

All good citizens were supposed to be asleep as we marched out of the big gate of the camp, but here and there voices called and handkerchiefs fluttered from dark porches as the line passed on with steady tread through the town. They were those of the girls they left behind them. The men swung past a hall where a dance was in progress. The dancers were too busy with their pleasure to think of passing soldiers, and there was a bit of grim irony in their obliviousness, for the music to which they danced was the song the boys might have sung had they dared:

"We may be gone for a long, long time."

But that for the future, now they were on their way.

The officers of the Quartermaster's Department had just completed their inspection of the trains as the line swung down the hill to the station. German soldiers may travel in stock cars, which is fit and becoming, but the American soldier, as is also fit and becoming, travels as comfortably as is possible at all times, and the quartermasters see to it that he does. As

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our ride was only for a few hours, we had day coaches, three men to two seats, with the guards ordered to see that no more than that were taken. A last checking up by the sergeants, and they filed in, settled themselves like old campaigners, and were off.

Then the enthusiasm which had been repressed during the march burst forth. They were going over at last! We are not a patient people, and, as our soldiers are a part of us, they are not patient soldiers. The hardest thing they have to bear is not the rigor of the training, not the lack of comforts in camp life, not the mess (though they all "kick" about it), but the waiting—the passing of long months while everything is getting shaped and ready. They had fretted and grouched and grown blasphemous sometimes as the weeks rolled on into months and no orders came to go. But at last they were going, and all the waiting was forgotten in the hilarity that grew louder as the train moved faster. Ukeleles appeared from the packs, and their thin chords blended with the singing. One song they sang which had roared through the barracks many a night during the winter of their discontent:

"They sent us down to Allentown to get an ambulance
To go abroad and let 'er go and drive for sunny France,
And then it took us seven months to get a pair of pants.
Oh, there's something rotten somewhere in this blooming ambulance.
Of course to drive an ambulance you've got to learn to drill,
So every morning, afternoon, they put us through the mill.
And when this war is over you will find us at it still;
For we never saw an ambulance, and never, never will."

But this time they sang it only as a memory. It meant nothing longer; they were on their way.

Habit is something, even for an American soldier. It was long after taps, and the habit of regular sleep which they had learned these months began to assert itself. The songs became less strident as the singers one after another curled up on the seats, with legs and arms twisted around each other in a fashion that reminded one of the Laocoön. Soon they were all asleep, except the guards sitting by the doors. So in quietness we swept on through the night—on to the port, past towns that peacefully slept, saved from the torch of the Hun by lads like these sleepers; past quiet farm lands never to be torn by shrapnel or scarred by trenches, because these and others like them were going to build a wall of living stones over there beyond which the devil's devices of frightfulness might not pass. Thinking of those living stones, an old word came back with fresh meaning: "Whosoever shall fall upon that stone shall be broken; but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder." Please God, it shall!

It was in the gray of the morning when we piled out of the train to pass to the waiting ferry. The shed was filled with long troop trains from many points. They were going over fast. It was but a short run to the waiting ships. Fantastic and weird they seemed in their coats of motley, as though arrayed for some mummer's dance. The boys were a bit sleepy, and of course dreadfully hungry, but eager and ready for every fresh development of that momentous morning. Some may have wanted to go back, but I did not find them. I had a thousand messages to take back to camp, but not one doubtful one. The sergeants lined them up on the dock for the last roll-call on American soil, and then over the gangplank they filed, off at last and fit. And as the ships passed out to where the destroyers waited we caught their last hail—a hail that meant hope to a harried world.

Such trains, such ships, may carry your boy. But with him they carry all that makes the future years bright and glorious for the race that is to be. And for what greater thing can your boy live—or die? WILLIAM E. BROOKS.

HUMAN NATURE IN POLITICS[1]

AL SMITH AND THE HUMAN SIDE OF TAMMANY

BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

Among the men suggested as possible candidates for the Governorship of New York is the subject of this sketch. This is the first of two articles bearing upon the human side of politics in the United States. The article which in the course of a few weeks will follow this one on Alfred E. Smith will deal with Will H. Hays. Al Smith is a modern type of Tammany Democrat. Will Hays is a progressive Republican. Al Smith is a Tammany hero and President of the Board of Aldermen in New York City. Will Hays is the new Chairman of the Republican National Committee, who made such a human and efficient record in overturning political conditions in the State of Indiana that he has been called to the task of Republican reconstruction in the Nation. From his acquaintance with these men, their personality and ideals, Mr. Davenport writes upon "Al Smith and the Human Side of Tammany" and "Will Hays and Republican Reconstruction."—THE EDITORS.

TAMMANY has suffered sorely in public esteem for the sins of some of its individual members and leaders, and now and then for its own corporate sins. A world of politics growing slowly better will never forget nor forgive Tweed, nor soon fail to recall with a shudder the gubernatorial régimes of Dix and Sulzer. Dix and Sulzer are names that are likely to stand guard at the threshold for many a year against renewed incursion of Tammany power into rulership over the commonwealth of New York. It is a pity that the shortcomings of Tammany have so obscured its outstanding virtues. There is probably no political group in the United States from which the practical political student may learn so much that is worth while about elementary political control and the human handling of the masses of mankind in a democracy.

Human nature is the core of politics. Putting exasperating Constitutional hobbles upon democracy is out of date. The surest control of the mob spirit in democracy now is wise, sympathetic, human leadership. And political Tammany understands the human nature of common men and women and little children probably as well as any similar organization in the United States. It is true that certain of its leaders have from time to time exploited this knowledge to the selfish benefit of themselves and their clansmen. Warm shoes against the winter slush and happy picnics for the district are no fit cover for governmental incompetence and political corruption. And no honest Tammany man would contend that they are. But the real human currents in Tammany run deeper and truer than this. And it will be a good thing for even New York City to understand its own Tammany better than it does, because Tammany is likely to have a hand in the government of the municipality of New York for some time. The great shifting masses of the metropolitan population in the long run respond more naturally to the humanness of Tammany than to the mechanical short-sightedness and blunderings of reform governments.

And it is worth while for the whole country to understand better the heart of Tammany and the best products of Tammany, because the politics of America, to make it potent over the hearts and consciences of the mass of the people, requires nothing so much as the human touch and a close practical attention to the needs and longings of the common man.

Tammany at its best is the family idea applied to politics. A night in a Tammany club-house makes you feel that the Tammany leaders and officials are the big brothers of everybody in the neighborhood. The distracted mother hurries to this center of hope and help when her boy is arrested, or even when he stays away from home overnight. It is no unusual sight to see in line at the club-house of an evening women with children in their arms waiting to see the leader. There many a domestic quarrel is straightened out into domestic tranquillity. When the doctor tells the mother that the child is developing tuberculosis, it is quite likely that she will make straight for the district

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club-house, and the leader sees to it that the child is admitted to some institution under the city or the State for the care of this incipient and insidious malady.

Perhaps a child is run over by a truck or an automobile, or suffers accident in other form on the narrow tenement street, and is hurried away suddenly to the hospital. Somebody in the group rushes to tell the mother. And soon she appears, breathless, at the club-house. Her child is at the Harlem Hospital or at the Hudson Street House of Relief, and how shall she get to him and what can she do to help him? The human hand of Tammany reaches out to see that the child is cared for; that the mother is admitted to his presence; that her fears are calmed. Is it any wonder that Tammany has a grip on the hearts and the votes of the simple, plain people, native and foreign-born,

ALFRED E. SMITH

in the crowded tenements of the metropolis? Tammany never allows any old-time well-known resident of the district to be dispossessed for failure to pay the rent. The breadwinner is out of work; the times are hard, or he is ill and loses two or three weeks' pay. The landlord comes around on the first of the month, and there is, perhaps, fifteen or sixteen dollars due. The breadwinner hasn't got it. If he has lived in the district any reasonable length of time, he can go up to the club-house and get the rent, which is paid out of the club funds. When a well-known resident of the district dies, Tammany looks after the funeral expenses if the family lack the money to pay. Every week in the undertaker's shop in the district there is somebody laid out, the surviving family being destitute. Friends help—and Tammany helps.

When the Workmen's Compensation Act was passed in the State of New York, one of the first cases under it in a district in New York City was that of a mother of five children whose husband had been killed. She went to the club-house because she had nowhere else to go. Other people might go to a lawyer, but Tammany looked after it for her. The worries and difficulties of small business men, in no position to hire attorneys, are brought to the club-house, and appropriate advice is given.

Tammany political practice has one of its roots in the care of the poor and the lowly. It doesn't follow, for example, because a man is arrested in the great metropolis that he is necessarily guilty. There are many acts of injustice committed in New York through undeserved arrests. Tammany follows these cases into the police courts. Undoubtedly there have been some instances of improper influence. But the principle is right so long as there is no attempt to corrupt judges and courts.

The defeats which Tammany has suffered in recent years have done a great deal to elevate the practical standards of the organization. Tammany government and vice have long been associated in the public mind. Now vice of various sorts has long flourished in the metropolis under all administrations—under Mayor Low and Mayor Gaynor as well as under Van Wyck or McClellan. Tammany has come to have a keen understanding that it cannot live in New York if it allows the old-time practices of gambling, pool-selling, and other forms of vice to flourish widely among the general population as they once did.

Charles F. Murphy is an abler and more far-seeing politician than he has often been given the credit for being. Of recent years he has brought to the front as Tammany lieutenants strong and intelligent younger men of the type of Foley and Wagner and Al Smith. Foley and Wagner have seats of leadership and influence in the Senate of the State of New York. But the flower of the human side of Tammany and perhaps the typical hero of the Tammany masses is Al Smith, now President of the Board of Aldermen of New York City—only one step under the Mayoralty—sitting easily at his desk in the dignified and beautiful offices in the old City Hall formerly graced by John Purroy Mitchel and George McAneny, and, preceding them, by a long line of distinguished Knickerbocker statesmen of a bygone age.

Typically Tammany at its best is Al Smith—Assemblyman, speaker, sheriff, President of the Board of Aldermen, and some day destined at least to be Mayor of the city of New York. Who understands the mass of the people in New York City better than Al Smith? Perhaps nobody. He wouldn't put it this way. I do that. But hear him for himself in the matter of his public lineage and career:

> Born in Roosevelt Street, over a German barber-shop; did odd jobs; went to the Assembly; was sorry for it the first year; went to the Assembly again; and then I was sheriff, and now I am President of the Board of Aldermen. Live where I was born, or very close to it, and don't get above Fourteenth Street, only occasionally.

You will note that he was born in the Bowery area. The old Bowery was a night-time thoroughfare and sightseeing place. The cabaret of to-day went on in the Bowery of yesterday, except that instead of electric lights there was gaslight, and instead of rich and luxurious conveniences things were commonplace and ordinary. The Bowery at night was frequented by the residents of the neighborhood. Atlantic Garden was the large concert hall. You remember the old song—

> The Bowery, the Bowery,
> They say such things and they do such things,
> On the Bowery, the Bowery,
> We'll never go there any more

the uptown cabaret of to-day differs from the old Bowery only in being a more or less decadent form of luxury for those who can afford to pay the price.

Al Smith was a Bowery boy. Of course environment counts; but there are exceptions, and environment has a tough time destroying real worth. And Al Smith has real worth. In 1915, next to Elihu Root, even if after a different fashion, he was probably the star performer in the Constitutional Convention in the State of New York. He was a teetotal shock and glad surprise to the whole of that very staid and conservative body. "Remarkable and brilliant," is reported to have been Mr. Root's characterization of him. He knew the history of legislation in New York from A to Z. And his wholesome and native common sense illuminated more than one dark spot in that somewhat clouded Convention. His quaint humor was irresistible. One day during the Convention he was telling a friend about his career in the lower house of the State Legislature. "When I first went into the Assembly," he said, "I sat with Tommy Cosgrove in our room down at Stanwix Hall in Albany, looking over a pile of bills a foot high. Tommy was an Assemblyman, too. We spent an hour looking over those things beginning 'Be it enacted,' etc., and then we went for a walk along the river. 'Tommy,' said I, after a bit, 'we are in the wrong place. Whoever thought we were Assemblymen?' 'You are right,' said Tommy. 'Yes,' said I, 'we can tell a hake from a haddock by the color of his eye, but we can't tell a bill from a bale of hay.' But I stuck, and here I am."

Yes, there he was, one of the most highly human and mentally alert delegates in the most dignified constitutional body in this State. Here he still is, in a seat of the mighty, now the next man to the highest in the government of a city of over five million souls. And the end is not yet.

And the reason is that Al Smith is not only able, but human. One day after he had been Speaker of the Assembly,

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and when he was again leader of the minority, there came into the House a measure providing pensions for widowed mothers. And some of the things Al Smith said that day, I am sure with the face of his fine, strong old mother before him, are worthy to be kept by our commonwealths in perpetual remembrance. Thinking especially of his own city of New York, he said:

> What happens when death takes from the family the provider? The widowed mother goes to the police court or to the charity organization, and her children are committed to an institution, and from the moment the judge signs the commitment the people of the city of New York are bound for their support. Let us see what effect that has upon the State itself. The mother stands in the police court. She witnesses the separation of herself and her children. They are torn away from her and given over to the custody of an institution, and nothing is left for her to do but to go out into the world and make her own living. What must be her feelings? What must be her idea of the State's policy when she sees her children separated from her by due process of law, particularly when she must remember that for every one of them she went down into the valley of death that a new pair of eyes might look out upon the world? What can be the feelings in the hearts of the children themselves, separated from their mother by what they must learn in after years was due process of law, when they must in after years learn to know what was the State's policy with respect to their unfortunate condition?
>
> That is the old system. That is the dark day we are walking away from. That is the period that by this policy we are attempting to forget.
>
> What new policy does this bill inaugurate? The State of New York under the provisions of this Act reaches out its strong arm to that widow and her children, and says to them: "We recognize in you a resource to the State, and we propose to take care of you, not as a matter of charity, but as a matter of public duty." What a different feeling that must put into the hearts of the mother and the children! What better citizens that policy must make! Why? Because it instills into young hearts a love, a reverence, and a devotion for the great State of New York and its sovereign power.
>
> We have been in a great hurry to conserve that which means to the State dollars and cents, but we have been slow to legislate in the direction that means thanksgiving to the poorest man recorded in history—Him who was born in the stable at Bethlehem.
>
> We have been pretty successful. We have been especially blessed by divine Providence in this State. He has seen fit to make it the great financial and the great commercial center of the Western world. I believe it will in time be demonstrated that He intends to make it the market-place of all the world. And by this legislation, by the adoption of this policy, we are sending up to Him a prayer of thanksgiving for the innumerable blessings that He has showered upon us, particularly in the light of the words of the Saviour himself, who said: "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

Al has a strong sentiment against enforcing prohibition in opposition to the wish of a large section of the working class in New York City. He sympathizes with the point of view of the man who gets, or thinks he gets, some relaxation from toil in the glass of beer at the end of the day. He quotes the indignant remark of a worker which he overheard one evening at the corner near his home: "What the hell are they trying to make out of a laboring man—an animal? Do they want him to work and go home to bed as a horse does?" Al realizes the harm that the saloon has done to the working class and to society, but he cannot abide the tide of National wrath that seems likely to sweep the intoxicating drink business and habit together into the sea.

Anybody can approach Al in the President's office in the City Hall. New York is very big, but there are too many people who remember it when it was a much smaller city to endure having a government entirely divorced from them. When a citizen wants to see the Mayor or the President of the Board of Aldermen of New York, he wants to see the Mayor or the President of the Board—not a secretary.

I asked Al Smith when I met him a little while ago what he had in mind that ought to be worked out at once for his native city. "The development," said he immediately, "of a system of terminal and public markets. A better method for the transportation and distribution of the food supply. A larger return to the city from millions of dollars' worth of real estate which the city owns but leased years ago at too favorable rates. More adequate dock facilities and the construction of new piers and the full development of the whole water-front. I am also strongly of the belief that the city should have the power to purchase, construct, own, and operate any public utility. How soon and to what extent the power should be exercised is a question for the future. There are a good many non-paying public utilities in New York. I am not keen about getting control of them. But the Constitution will permit us to begin with the utility that earns revenue sufficient to sustain the bonds, to pay interest, and retire the bonds at maturity."

Here is a Tammany leader of a new and powerful sort, who inspires confidence, whose word is as good as his bond, who is loyal to his organization, but who has ideals and principles and fights for them.

"He has brains, and he stands by his friends"—that is the way Tammany sizes him up, and that is what Tammany likes in him. And the community likes his humanness and his vision. He will not break so much with the old that he cannot be effective in his fight for the new. He loves his family life and his "kids." He has five of them. "I want them brought up to face the world with the best of them," he says, "and after that the missus and I will get along all right. We don't need much." He has many thousands of ardent supporters throughout the metropolitan area. He is worth watching. A new Tammany, shot through with the Al Smith sort of spirit and intelligence, might become of far greater service to a city which is destined to be, in all human probability, the mightiest metropolis on the planet.

CARDINAL MERCIER'S FAREWELL

BY CHARLOTTE KELLOGG

OF THE COMMISSION FOR RELIEF IN BELGIUM

IT was four o'clock one Sunday afternoon when we rang again at the gate of Cardinal Mercier's palace. We were leaving Belgium (Mr. Hoover and my husband temporarily) at seven the following morning, and his Eminence had sent word that he would be happy to receive us if we could come to Malines Sunday afternoon.

Our car had covered the desolate avenues between Brussels and Malines at top speed, broken only at sentry posts, and had taken us at once to the home of that distinguished Oxford scholar and proved friend of the Cardinal, M. Dessein. We found the familiar gray, helmeted figure with fixed bayonet pacing up and down in good view of the door—the same door at which five other Germans had once appeared at two o'clock in the morning to charge the owner with the crime of having printed the Cardinal's first letter. He had somehow evaded the German prison, to which, however, his no less distinguished brother, the Bourgmestre of Malines, was afterwards condemned for printing the second letter.

I already knew this fine old brick house inclosing spreading court gardens of California poppies, roses, and snapdragons. At the farther end of the court a shattered façade recalls August, 1914; nearer the house is a graceful, low red building, quite unharmed, which might be a separate reception-hall, but which, in truth, harbors the historic press.

Two charming sisters of M. Dessein preside over his household and care for the garden at odd minutes between the long hours devoted to the wretched ones of the city. In the kitchen old Mélanie over her kettles mutters her concern for *le bon Dieu*. She went to Mass one morning, but stopped short at the church portal, for the nave was crowded with kneeling soldiers in the hated gray, murderers of her people. She could not compel herself to kneel beside them, but stood without, sadly shak-

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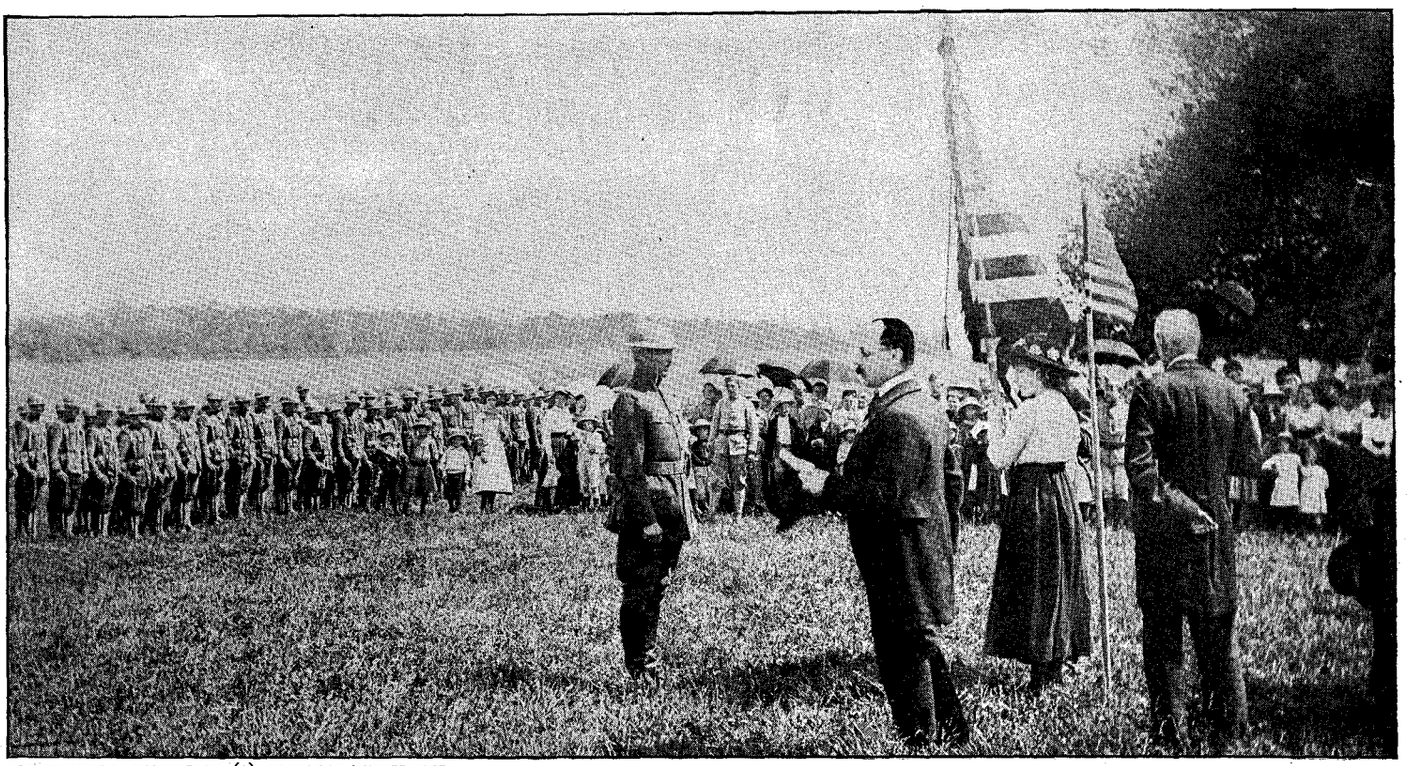
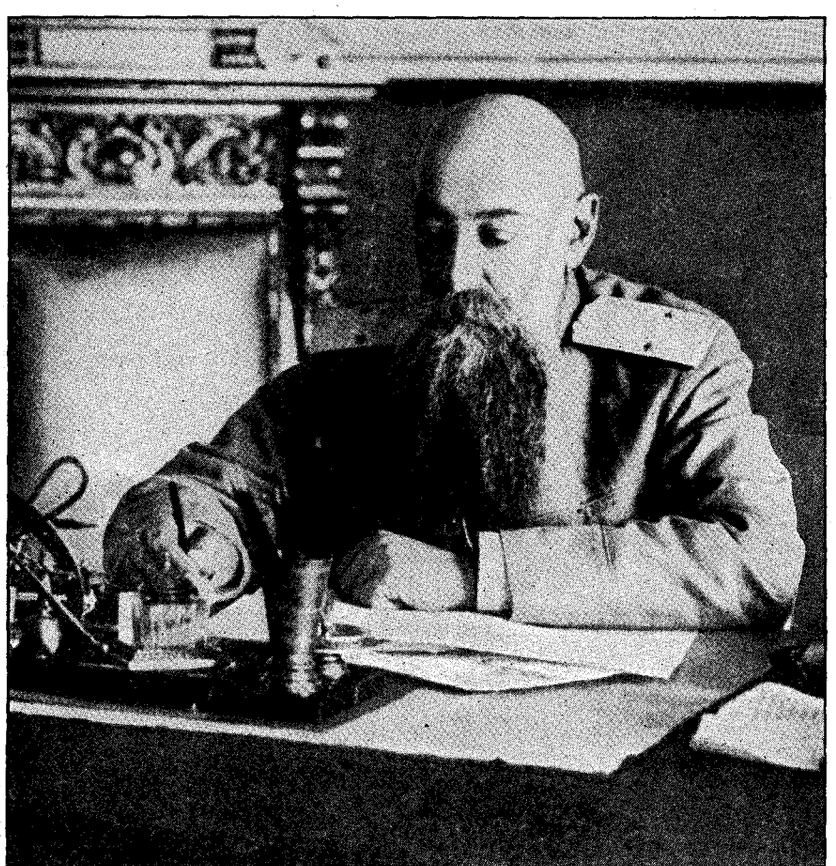
CURRENT EVENTS ILLUSTRATED



FRENCH OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPH. (C) UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

FRANCE AND AMERICA JOIN FLAGS

A beautiful and impressive ceremony lately took place on the American front in France. The descendant of Marshal Rochambeau, whose name is famous in American Revolutionary annals, presented to an unnamed American regiment two fine flags. The picture shows the scene after the ceremony, when the Marquis of Dompierre addressed the regiment



UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

THE HEAD OF THE NEW SIBERIAN REPUBLIC

General Horvath lately proclaimed a Provisional Government for Siberia. He announced that Siberia is to be a republic; that it is hostile to German aggression; that it will resist any attempt by the Bolsheviki to retard Siberian independence; and that it will restore, so far as Siberia is concerned, the political and commercial treaties made between Russia and the Allies

(C) INTERNATIONAL FILM SERVICE

THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR ON BASTILLE DAY

At the celebration in New York of France's great anniversary the most notable address was that by M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador to the United States. This excellent photograph was taken on that occasion. The Ambassador stands at the left

SIGNS OF FRIENDSHIP NEW AND OLD

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SOLDIERS OF THE SEA AND SOIL

In the instant haste to recruit help for the wheat harvest of Kansas and Missouri officers of the Marine Corps found one more new form of "marine service." They are here recruiting for the farms under the principle, "If you can't fight with a gun, you can fight with a pitchfork"

BRITISH OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPH. (C) UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

AMERICAN AND BRITISH OFFICERS PLANNING BATTLES TOGETHER

This recent picture is a most striking example of the complete unity of war work. British and American officers, acting of course under the supreme command of the French generalissimo of the Allies, General Foch, are consulting and marking off strategic points which they are jointly to attack or defend

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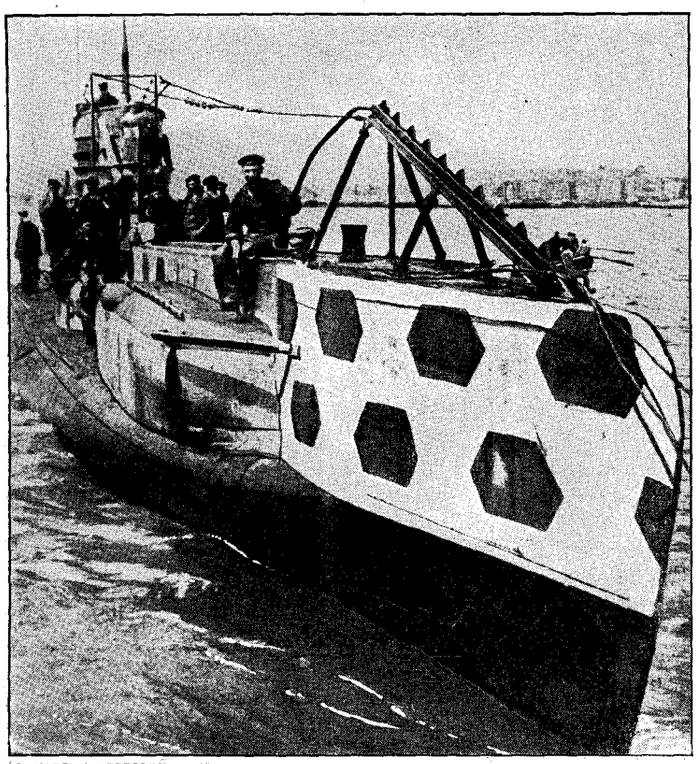
INTERNATIONAL FILM SERVICE

THE AMERICAN OFFICERS' "HUT" IN LONDON

A luxurious "hut," to be sure! But it is not the lounge of one of London's splendid hotels nor of one of its famous clubs. The Washington Inn is only one of several elaborate rest and comfort places newly erected in London parks for the use and pleasure of Americans. It stands in St. James's Square, in the center of fashionable London. It was fitted up expressly for the convenience of American officers, and is conducted by the American Y. M. C. A.



(C) KADEL & HERBERT

A CAMOUFLAGED SUBMARINE

This is the first example we have seen of the adoption by German submarines of the protective disguise which has been so widely and effectively employed against submarines. This boat is interned at Cartagena, in Spain. Note the saw-like apparatus intended to cut nets encountered by the submarine. It is stated that this submarine, after being damaged by a depth bomb, was captured by an American patrol boat, a converted yacht. If this is so, she was probably interned at Cartagena because it was impossible to get her into an Allied port

BRITISH OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPH. (C) UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

BRUCE, WAR DOG

This is one of the most intelligent and finest of the British messenger dogs. Bruce and his dog comrades are trained to indifference as regards shell fire. They carry messages from the rear to posts at the front, and back again, with marvelous skill and courage

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ing her puzzled head. "The good God, indeed, must be having a terrible struggle to decide in a case like this," she said, and slowly went back to her pots. Since that morning she spends her large sympathies, not on her poor people, but on the poor good God, who, after all, is having the harder end of it!

If one could forget reality for a day, what a sweet place of rest this would be. But in Belgium one cannot forget for a day.

With our friend as guide, we started on foot for the ecclesiastical quarter, going by way of the church where once a year a Mass is said for the long line of Dessein printers—father, grandfather, great-grandfather.

In his palace Monseigneur was expecting us. We were conducted along the spacious corridor, past the peaceful inner gardens, and upstairs to a small, informal audience chamber with ceiling intact, though that of the neighboring handsome reception-hall is shell-torn and gaping.

It is impossible to describe the beauty of the union of simplicity and dignity in the Cardinal's manner. One feels at once welcome and free to speak as a child, while his spirit offers instant homage to a greater spirit.

We sat in a little circle: Monseigneur in his splendid scarlet robes; at his left Mr. Hoover; then my husband, M. Dessein, and myself. The Cardinal's courage and faith have never been broken, but his heart has been broken over and over again by the sufferings of his people. Unfaltering faith and stern determination stood within that little circle; but after three years of desperate endeavor they could not banish weariness and heaviness of heart.

As we talked there was ever before us the picture of millions of black-shawled women and white-faced men marching in endless procession before us, each with a battered pitcher or an odd bowl held toward a ladle—the very life dependent on the pitiful pint of soup to be poured from that ladle.

And we saw another endless procession, stretching from the death-fence (that electrocuting barrier the Germans have set across the northern boundary of Belgium to prevent any of their captured millions from escaping) to the fighting barrier on the south—an unbroken line of little children, at the side of each of whom watched a white specter. Tuberculosis was branding them as its own. We saw the swollen black gland behind the ear, the rotting bone.

And then that other vast company of free-born men—proud mechanics, the pick of the world's master-workmen—being thrust at the point of the bayonet into the cattle cars that were to bear them to slavery.

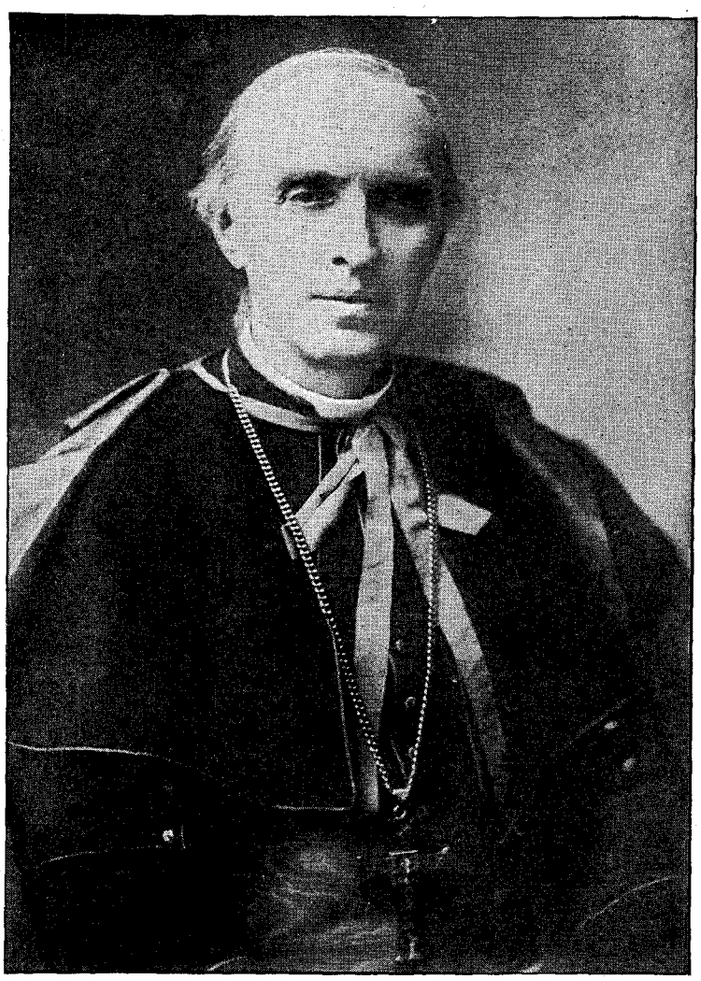
In the factories of Germany they would be forced to fashion those things that would sow death among their own brothers on the battle-front. But thousands of them, rather than do this, were choosing to die inch by inch, resisting German pressure in prison camps. After months of pitiless brutality, Germany, seeing the hopelessness of her enslaving policy, was freighting back these broken men—useless to her, and useless now to anybody.

Yet faith must be kept alive and steadfast in the hearts of the mothers of the children and the wives of the workmen. As Cardinal Mercier talked we hurried with him to the wife left alone in terror, and on to the next cottage where the mother sat helplessly with her child. But he can reach only a few; he must depend on his priests to hearten the millions. And they are helping nobly, though the heavy hand of Germany falls upon them often. Some lie already in martyrs' graves; many are in prison, others will be.

For a moment we tried to escape from the misery of it all; we turned toward America. "You will remember, your Eminence," I said, "your promise that when it is over you will make that long journey—you will come to America. Not Catholics nor Protestants, but a whole people will gather to honor you."

He smiled, almost boyishly. "The United States—yes, I should be happy to go, but it is a great journey. I am no longer young; yet—" He paused, and we divined what was passing through his mind; we remembered that he had spoken at another meeting of the hope that America would rebuild and refill the Library of Louvain.

"Yes," my husband said, quickly, "your Eminence will find all the members of the C. R. B. [Commission for Relief in Belgium] at the dock to meet the ship. And then we shall all help gather books for the greater Library at Louvain. America will never be able to replace the priceless ones that are ashes, but our universities will have many to offer you. From our collectors, from our whole people, you shall have gifts of books. Your Eminence would accept them?"



DESIRÉ JOSEPH, CARDINAL MERCIER
ARCHBISHOP OF MALINES AND PRIMATE OF BELGIUM

With a swift, glad, forward-looking smile, he replied: "Yes, I shall come to the United States, and we shall build the greater Library, the first library in the world, the largest—that is real American, isn't it?"—his eyes twinkling—"at Louvain."

But there could be only a moment's escape. We turned from the library to be to the desolate human millions as they were. He looked toward Mr. Hoover. "Now you are going out, what of the wheat, what of the meat? Will the ships still come?"

Mr. Hoover answered by telling of those then on the oceans hurrying rice from Rangoon, maize from the Argentine, and wheat and fat from the United States; there were black clouds threatening dangers ahead, but somehow the ships would continue to unload at Rotterdam.

It was a small circle, but as minute followed minute I felt that the whole of crucified Belgium and France were being gathered inside it, and in desperate necessity, physical and spiritual, ten million souls were calling, crying out for succor. There must be bread for the body, but, above all, bread for the spirit.

To-morrow we were "going out," and even now we must go out from this sacred little room. We looked into those sorrowful, kindly, fearless eyes of the Cardinal, then down, as he gave us his blessing with his farewell. We turned and walked sadly through the door.

We had gone about a third of the way down the long stairway—I was the last—when I felt intuitively that some one was following us. I turned my head slightly and caught just the flash of scarlet. The men were descending slowly, deep in thought. It was only at the bottom, where we had to turn to cross the broad entrance hall to the street doorway, that they too saw the scarlet robe.

Silently we separated, forming a kind of semicircle and waiting to hear what Cardinal Mercier should have to say. He

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paused—a never-to-be-forgotten figure in his scarlet robes, at the foot of the ancient staircase—tall and noble, full of faith, fearless, yet tender and anxious and sorrowing. We listened, but he did not open his lips—he simply silently reached out his hands in a gesture at once of supplication and affectionate farewell.

Mr. Hoover and my husband were biting their lips, struggling to hold back tears; the Belgian did not try. He waited a moment, then softly opened the door, and we slipped out into the street. There he said, "That has never happened before."

What was he saying though he did not open his lips? He was saying: "Oh, you can go out, but we must remain locked inside. The lives of ten million people depend on the fact that when you are out you will not forget. Surely you *cannot* forget! Good-by, and may God go with you!" And America remembers.

And now whenever I look back to Belgium I see, always, Cardinal Mercier standing with his hands outstretched, and behind him I see all the people of Belgium and occupied France standing with their hands outstretched—toward America.

KNOLL PAPERS

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

VICARIOUS ENJOYMENT

CONDEMNED to six weeks' confinement in hard idleness as a penalty for six weeks' overwork, I am sitting on one of the piazzas of Lake Mohonk House, looking down upon the blue waters of the lake, forty or fifty feet below me, and across to Skytop, a rocky but thickly wooded knoll which rises a hundred and fifty feet above me. From my height I look down upon the life in which I am forbidden to take part. But the prohibition is in vain. Though I may not leave my room for the morning prayers or the evening entertainments, and only by special permission even for a meal, I am vicariously enjoying all the activities which are going on about me.

I take my seat in one of the rowboats on the lake. The oarsman, without a protest, without even surprise, hands me the oars; all the little skill I had forty years ago comes back to me, and I rejoice like a strong man to row a race. Now I have changed my mind and transferred my seat from the rowboat to the canoe, my hands from the oars to a paddle, and myself from Mohonk Lake to the Hudson River. My little girl sits in the bow, and I am paddling out to catch the waves of a passing Hudson River steamboat and give her the pleasurable thrill of an imaginary peril in what she calls "high riding."

Hallo! what is this? My eye has caught a glimpse of a white garment in the woods opposite, and I have gone ashore and am climbing Skytop. The spirit of adventure has seized me. Let us go up by the most difficult of the paths by which the top is reached; let us go up through the "Great Crevice." Why great? For the cleft in the rock is so narrow that I am somewhat doubtful whether Phillips Brooks or Bishop McVicker or ex-President Taft could get through it. But it presents no obstacle to a vicarious climber.

Hark! The rumble of a carriage crossing the bridge brings me suddenly back to the lake again, and I have taken my place, an uninvited guest, in the carriage for a pleasure drive. It is Convention week, and an extemporized party of old friends whose varied duties rarely permit them the luxury of such a fellowship are riding along roads laid out in long grades with engineering skill through a wilderness almost as wild, save for these roads, as it was when Cooper's Indians hunted in these woods and fished in these lakes.

Presto, change! The party has vanished. I am with my wife, repeating the holiday week I spent here, I do not know how many years ago, as the guest of Mr. Smiley when he put his horse and buggy at my disposal, and we spent six happy and peaceful days far from the "madding crowd," exploring the fifty or sixty miles of road which this mountain park contains, enjoying together some of the pleasures of the explorer and perfectly sure of a comfortable home and a good supper when the afternoon's exploring came to an end.

Since I have been here I have received a letter from a son giving me a graphic account of his twenty-fifth class reunion at Harvard College. No such reunion is possible for me. I was graduated from New York University in 1853, and if I could have gone back this year, the sixty-fifth anniversary of my graduation, there would have been no class reunion. I believe I am the only member left. But my son's letter has given me all the pleasures of a class reunion. I have marched and banqueted and sung and "reminisced" with him. He has made me for a moment a classmate without obtruding me upon a fellowship which the physical presence of any stranger would have done much to disturb. This seems to me one of the chief values of the almost forgotten art of correspondence. The letter-writer enables us to forget ourselves in an hour of pleasurable companionship with him—sometimes a very blessed forgetfulness. It is this which makes the "Letters of Charles Lamb" dearer to the lover of Charles Lamb than the most finished product of his pen, the "Essays of Elia."

I have been reading during my time of imprisonment the stories of Miss Richmond. My friend tells me that they are not great literature. Perhaps not. But to me they are enjoyable literature. I like them much better than the "Best Short Stories of 1915." I know that those are the best short stories of that year because the title-page tells me so. But they are all November days. Hardly a ray of sunshine breaks through the gloom. Not a laugh nor a chuckle relieves those somber lives. Miss Richmond's stories are not all sunshine. Their weather might be described as "generally fair, with occasional showers." I once heard a violinist—was it Ole Bull?—play a piece of considerable length on one string of his violin. It was a musical stunt, but still it was musical. Miss Richmond plays in all her stories on one string—love; but it is love as I have known it: lovers' love, honeymoon love, family love, love of friends and neighbors. I like such stories because I like the people to whom they introduce me. I read Tolstoy and Maxim Gorky and Turgenev, not for recreation, but for instruction, as I read Leroy-Beaulieu or English Walling, because I want to know the Russian people. But for pure enjoyment I would rather spend an hour with Rosalind in the Forest of Arden than an hour with Desdemona on the island of Cyprus.

The Fifteenth Chapter of Luke contains three stories: one of a woman who swept her house to recover a lost coin; one of a shepherd who went out into the wilderness to recover a lost sheep; and one of a father who went out to meet a wayward son returning to his home in rags and hunger, but repentant. Many lessons have been drawn from these stories; the lesson which Christ drew was, "There is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth." I wish the Church would put more emphasis on this truth.

We hear much about vicarious suffering. That God suffers for the sins and with the suffering of his children I profoundly believe. It is the distinctive article in the Christian faith. But he also exults in the victories and the virtues of his children and rejoices in their joying, though the virtue may be only the return to a life of sanity and loyalty and the victory only a conquering of the pride which forbade the shame of confession. In that return and repentance the Father rejoices, as the gardener rejoices in the first appearance of the green shoot above the ground in spring—evidence of the birth of a new life and hope of a future blossom.

These two experiences—vicarious suffering and vicarious enjoyment—are not inconsistent. They are two sides of the same experience: the son who showed no sorrow for his brother's sin, no suffering with his brother's suffering, showed no gladness in his brother's return; the father who had compassion on his sinful son—that is, who suffered with him—rejoiced in his return to sanity and his father's home. To rejoice with those that rejoice is as Christian as to weep with those that weep.

I believe in vicarious suffering; but also in vicarious rejoicing.

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WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY

BY J. MADISON GATHANY, A.M.

HOPE STREET HIGH SCHOOL, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Based on The Outlook of July 24, 1918

Each week an Outline Study of Current History based on the preceding number of The Outlook will be printed for the benefit of current events classes, debating clubs, teachers of history and of English, and the like, and for use in the home and by such individual readers as may desire suggestions in the serious study of current history.—THE EDITORS.

[Those who are using the weekly outline should not attempt to cover the whole of an outline in any one lesson or study. Assign for one lesson selected questions, one or two propositions for discussion, and only such words as are found in the material assigned. Or distribute selected questions among different members of the class or group and have them report their findings to all when assembled. Then have all discuss the questions together.]

I—INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

A. Topic: The New German Drive; The Hunted Submarine.

Reference: Pages 471, 472.

Questions:

1. What points are there in The Outlook's report of the German drive that leads The Outlook to say that "the results of the new offensive . . . must be thoroughly unsatisfactory to the German General Staff"? 2. Tell all you can about the part taken by American troops in this battle. 3. Make several comparisons between the characteristics and ideals of American and German soldiers. 4. Discuss the significance of The Outlook's statement: "The watchword for this season is, 'Hold fast.'" 5. Explain why gaining ground by the Germans may indicate German failure. 6. Give an account of the submarine situation at the present time. 7. Describe somewhat at length how U-boats are hunted and the experiences of U-boat hunters. 8. Make clear the meaning of the following expressions: "Army division," "National Guard," "National Army," "depth bomb." 9. Tell how our training camps fit men, both of the Army and Navy, to fight for the cause of democracy. 10. Among the most inspiring books on the war are: "The New Spirit of the New Army," by J. H. Odell (Revell); "The Glory of the Trenches," by C. Dawson (John Lane); "Out to Win," by C. Dawson (John Lane); "The U-Boat Hunters," by J. B. Connolly (Scribners).

B. Topic: Germany Still Predatory; German Propaganda Unmasked; Dr. Abbott on the Kaiser; Bringing Germany to Terms.

Reference: Pages 472, 473, 478, 488.

Questions:

1. What does it mean for a nation to be predatory? How has The Outlook shown Germany to be such? 2. The Outlook thinks that there are some Germans who desire to act fairly and decently (page 473). Is there any evidence? If there are such Germans, what likelihood is there of German regeneration through them? 3. Discuss what the New York "Globe" says about the lesson of the "Mail" exposure. 4. Did Germany's purchase of the "Mail" violate decent conduct that should govern the relations between friendly nations? Reasons. Was it an illegal process for Germany? 5. Was this purchase another illustration of German stupidity? Discuss. 6. Discuss the legal and moral case against Dr. Rumely, 7. Do you think Congress ought to enact a special law defining and penalizing the offense of accepting money from foreign countries for the purpose of influencing public opinion in America? 8. Is Dr. Abbott too harsh on the Kaiser (pages 478, 479)? Is he revengeful in spirit? Give several reasons. 9. Discuss whether Christians should pray for the Kaiser. 10. Give M. Stéphane Lauzanne's argument (pages 488, 493) in four or five sentences. 11. Tell why you do or do not consider his argument sound and convincing.

II—NATIONAL AFFAIRS

A. Topic: Government Control of Telegraphs.

Reference: Page 474.

Questions:

1. How many reasons does The Outlook give why Congress has authorized the President to take over the telegraph and telephone systems? 2. What arguments can you advance why the Government should not take over these systems? 3. Should the Government *own* these systems? Argue both sides. Give your own conclusion.

B. Topic: John Purroy Mitchel.

Reference: Pages 479-481.

Questions:

1. Make a list of the characteristics of Mr. Mitchel as found in this article by "E. H. A." 2. Do you think that all these characteristics were born in Mr. Mitchel, or did he himself acquire them? Discuss thoroughly. 3. What was there in Mr. Mitchel's public record to justify "E. H. A.'s" statements: "To Mr. Mitchel the city government was not a matter of figures and reports, but a matter of people;" he "was the rare man who has executive genius;" "he scorned to play the demagogue"? 4. What lessons do you see in Mr. Mitchel's life and public record for those who aspire to municipal office and for American cities and citizens? 5. How do you account for the fact that so many efficient public officials are turned out of office? When will such practice cease?

III—PROPOSITIONS FOR DISCUSSION

(These propositions are suggested directly or indirectly by the subject-matter of The Outlook, but not discussed in it.)

1. Democracy has the defects of its virtues. 2. It is impossible to rid municipal government of corruption and inefficiency.

IV—VOCABULARY BUILDING

(All of the following words and expressions are found in The Outlook for July 24, 1918. Both before and after looking them up in the dictionary or elsewhere, give their meaning *in your own words*. The figures in parentheses refer to pages on which the words may be found.)

Placate, indifference, prudent, copperheadism, servitors (473); Te Deums, reparation (478); Reichstag (479).

A booklet suggesting methods of using the Weekly Outline of Current History will be sent on application

THE NEW BOOKS

This department will include descriptive notes, with or without brief comments, about books received by The Outlook. Many of the important books will have more extended and critical treatment later

FICTION

Christopher Quarles. By Percy James Brebner. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.50.

A collection of detective stories which have been widely read.

Time Spirit (The). By J. C. Snaith. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.

This is in a lighter vein than most of Mr. Snaith's novels, and, while quite different from his "Araminta" in subject, is like it in entertaining quality. The housekeeper who is secretly married to a duke, their daughter who begins life as a foundling, and the brother-in-law of the duchess who is a London policeman with strong views on maintaining class distinctions have almost a Gilbert and Sullivan flavor. But the plot is carefully worked out, and the novel is well worth reading.

You No Longer Count! (Tu n'es plus rien!) By René Boylesve. Translated by Louise Seymour Houghton. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.

This novel ought to do something towards developing altruism in those whom the war has not already influenced in this direction. The book also brings an added realization of the war. The exact translation of the title "Tu n'es plus rien!" is significant of the translation of the text.

BOOKS FOR YOUNG FOLKS

Jim Spurling, Fisherman; or, Making Good. By Albert W. Tolman. Illustrated. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.25.

Woodcraft Girls in the City (The). By Lillian Elizabeth Roy. Illustrated. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $1.25.

BIOGRAPHY

Life and Times of Stephen Girard (The). Mariner and Merchant. By John Bach McMaster. Illustrated. 2 vols. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $5.

"A remarkable biography of one of the greatest public benefactors of his time during the formative period of the Republic. The enthralling story of his career from cabin-boy on a French merchantman trading with San Domingo to that of merchant prince and great private banker and public benefactor is American to the core. At the same time it is a striking picture of the times in which he lived."

HISTORY, POLITICAL ECONOMY, AND POLITICS

Polish Peasant in Europe and America (The). Monograph of an Immigrant Group. By William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki. 2 vols. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. $5.50.

These are the first two volumes of a monumental work on the Polish peasant. The volumes before us comprise the study of primary groups—that is to say, the family and the community; and also the influence upon them of industrial systems and of immigration to America and Germany. The Polish peasant is not only interesting in himself; he also strikingly illustrates certain phases of social problems. A marked feature of the work is the inclusion of very many letters from Polish peasants—ceremonial, informing, sentimental, literary, and business letters.

Short History of France (A). From Cæsar's Invasion to the Battle of Waterloo. By Mary Duclaux (A. Mary F. Robinson). With Maps. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2.50.

This may be highly recommended as a popular and readable single-volume history of France. The author shows discrimination and judgment in what she omits as well as in what she treats. In other words,

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The New Books (Continued)

the history tells in a broad, and often dramatic, way the really important episodes of French history from the time of the Romans to the Battle of Waterloo.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Fear God in Your Own Village. By Richard Morse. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.30.

Though in the form of a story, this is, we believe, a true account of a social betterment work carried on by a minister in a rural American community. It is well worth thoughtful reading by any minister, for it is both inspirational and instructive, a story of initiative, faith, courage, and a fine human spirit. But it lacks that sense of divine fellowship which gives such a subtle charm and such a mystic power to the history of social betterment in the Adirondacks contained in the autobiography of Dr. Trudeau.

WAR BOOKS

In the Fourth Year. Anticipations of a World Peace. By H. G. Wells. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.25.

Mr. Wells believes in a League of *free* nations with a central international body representing the nations which belong to the League and possessing certain clearly defined executive powers with authority to act for the nations represented. The conditions necessary to make such a League effective he describes with his accustomed, but not always convincing, ingenuity. The book is worth reading by all who desire to see this war followed by a League or Federation or combination of nations which will make future world wars, if not impossible, at least far less probable. The book shows a considerable study of and reflection upon the theme discussed, but, like most of Mr. Wells's utterances, is not the final utterance, as he is apt to think that his utterance is, whatever the subject he discusses.

Little Journeys Towards Paris, 1914-1918. A Guide Book for Confirmed Tourists. By W. Hohenzollern. By Simeon Strunsky. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 60c.

One of the most amusing bits of war burlesque we have seen. It is extremely clever, both in plan and execution.

Navy as a Fighting Machine (The). By Rear-Admiral Bradley A. Fiske, U. S. N. Second Edition. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.

The new edition of a remarkable, timely, and useful book.

Sub (The). Being the Autobiography of David Munro, Sub-Lieutenant, R. N. By "Taffrail." The George H. Doran Company, New York. $1.35.

An amusing account of the naval life and adventures of a very young British officer. It reminds one a little of Marryat's once popular sea tales.

Schemes of the Kaiser (The). By Juliette Adam. Translated by J. O. P. Bland. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.50.

Madame Adam has collected in this volume some of her contributions to "La Nouvelle Revue," which she founded and of which she is editor. They form an illuminating analysis of the German Emperor's character and activities.

White Flame of France (The). By Maude Radford Warren. Illustrated. Small, Maynard & Co., Boston. $1.50.

Mrs. Warren's experience as a clever writer of fiction has helped her to make vivid and picturesque her accounts of what she has seen and heard in England and in France in war times. Her description of air raids in London and her talks with all sorts of people in Paris are notable for their graphic quality.

From "The Postman"

Published by the Postal Life Insurance Company

IT might seem hardly believable, yet more than four thousand readers of The Outlook have responded to the announcements of the Postal Life, and nearly one thousand of these have taken out policies. That more than $1,000,000 of insurance has been thus placed in force upon the lives of The Outlook's readers has important significance.

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THE OUTLOOK

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PRAYER BEFORE AN ATTACK

(From "Rough Rhymes of a Padre," by Woodbine Willie, M.C.)

It ain't as I 'opes 'E'll keep me safe
While the other blokes goes down,
It ain't as I wants to leave this world
And wear an 'ero's crown.
It ain't for that as I says my prayers
When I goes to the attack,
But I pray that whatever comes my way
I may never turn me back.
I leaves the matter o' life and death
To the Father who knows what's best,
And I prays that I still may play the man
Whether I turns east or west.

A MARRIAGE ANNOUNCEMENT

BY LITTELL McCLUNG

While Southern young men in large numbers have gone North and have married Northern girls, comparatively few Northern men have married Southern women. The cause, of course, is that not many young men have come South. But now, with the Southern cantonments and camps bringing hundreds of thousands of young Northern men South, the order is rather reversed, and the North is marrying the South. It is surprising just how many Southern girls are marrying Northern soldiers, and the indications are that the proportions will increase with another winter of Northern boys in Dixie camps, because "men are becoming pretty scarce these days" except near camps and cantonments.

My observations are that most of the brides are left at home with their parents when the husbands leave for France. Plans for after the war generally include one of two intentions—either they will go up North to the husband's home community, where the husband will engage in business, or they will remain in the South and the husband will buy some land and begin farming. The latter is the plan of a number of the couples. In the camps are many boys who are, or were, farmers. They seem to know land values pretty well, and they are impressed with the low prices at which good land can be bought near cantonment cities. The percentage of these men has been a pleasant surprise to the various communities. Individuals and chambers of commerce have taken these men out over farm lands; and many of the soldiers go of their own accord, stopping at the various farms to study the crops and yields and live-stock possibilities. The parents of some of them have already come down and bought land and gone to work.

It is certain that this continuous marrying of Southern girls by Northern soldiers and the interest shown by so many of the men in farming possibilities in the South will weld this country together as never before. While the North and the South long ago shook hands in brotherhood, and while they have traded with each other and visited each other and tried to get each other's view-points through more than a generation, they have not exactly married each other. That they are marrying to-day is surely most significant when it is generally realized that blood ties are stronger and more lasting than any other bonds.

Whether a great many American soldiers will marry Frenchwomen it is difficult to say. We know, however, that the barriers of actual warfare and language tend to discourage much marrying abroad. But the Northern soldier in the South has no barriers to overcome. He is taken into the homes of the people, he is in town once or twice a week—sometimes oftener—and Southern girls are inclined to see a halo of romance over his head. Getting acquainted, courtship, marriage—all are easy.

For the last year these marriages have taken place by the thousands in the South. If this continues as it has begun, the North will certainly be pretty firmly tied to the South, and the South to the North, before it is done.

And so it might be worth while for the Northern people to know of this development.

A CHEERFUL WORD FROM THE FRONT

The following is an extract from a letter written on June 17 by a young American who has been serving for a year in the American Mission, which is the old motor-truck system of the American Ambulance, and has been, and still is engaged in carrying munitions for the French army. As a commissioned officer he messes with the French, and has a capital opportunity to know how they feel. He says: "Things are going grandly. Morale good, and the work of the Americans wonderful. The work of the French is of the usual high order; and there is no doubt that the fact of the Americans coming through in such grand style has a lot to do with the good, all-round morale of the Allies. They certainly have the goods, our troops have, and you can imagine the intense pleasure it gives the Huns, now that they realize what the new bunch they're up against is made of. The papers in Germany can sneer all they like, but the German troops know, and, as a thing like that spreads round an army p. d. q., the moral effect on the Boches is all that can be desired—from our point of view, that is. As the number of our troops is almost inexhaustible (from the point of view of the Germans, who have been fighting almost four years), and, as they all arrive fresh, fit, and anxious to fight, the Huns are gradually getting wise to the fact that they're up against it. In short, they are beginning to recognize that it is all up with them."

A DEADLY PEACE

I have recently acquired an original copy, in pamphlet form, of Burke's "Letters on a Regicide Peace," dated 1796. I find there certain passages that are so striking that I have put them together without changing one word excepting the substitution of the word Germany for France. I have not seen anywhere a statement of the situation to-day so complete as this statement of Edmund Burke's made a century and a quarter ago. It is superfluous to say that the magnificent Republic of France, as it is to-day, stands pre-eminently for the very opposite of those principles which Burke so vigorously assailed, and which Germany, in spite of all the warnings of history, is still determined to uphold.

C. A. RICHMOND.

Office of the President, Union College,
Schenectady, New York.

BURKE'S STATEMENT

"We cannot arrange with our enemy in the present conjuncture without abandoning the interest of mankind. The allies and Great Britain amongst the rest have been miserably deluded by this fundamental error, that it was in our power to make peace with this monster of a state whenever we chose to forget the crimes that made it great and the designs that made it formidable. They could not, or rather they would not, read in the most unequivocal declamations of the enemy and his uniform conduct that more safety was to be found in the most arduous war than in the friendship of such a being. Its hostile amity can be obtained in no such terms that do not imply an inability hereafter to resist its designs. We are in a war of a peculiar nature. It is not with an ordinary community, which is hostile or friendly as passion or interest may veer about, but with a state that makes war through wantonness and abandons it through lassitude. We are at war with a system which by its essence is so inimical to all other governments and which makes peace or war as peace and war may best contribute to their subversion. It is with an armed doctrine we are at war. The very idea of a negociation for peace, whatever the inward sentiments of the parties may be, implies some confidence in their faith, some degree of belief in the professions which are made concerning it. A temporary and occasional credit at least is granted—otherwise men stumble at the very threshold. I therefore wish to ask what hope we can have of their good faith who as the very basis of their negociation assume the ill faith and treachery of those they have to deal with. If to preserve political independence and civil freedom to nations was a just ground of war; a war to preserve national independence, property, liberty, life, and honor from certain universal havock, is a war just, necessary, manly, pious, and we are bound to persevere in it by every principle, divine and human, as long as the system which menaces them all, and all equally, has an existence in the world. The influence of such a [Germany] is equal to a war; its example more wasting than a hostile irruption. The hostility with any other power is separable and accidental; this power by the very condition of its existence, by its very effectual constitution, is in a state of hostility with us and with all other civilized people. I conceived that the contest once begun could not be laid down again to be resumed at our discretion, but that our first struggle with this evil would also be our last. I never thought we could make peace with the system because it was not for the sake of one object we pursued in rivalry with each other but with the system itself we were at war. As I understand the matter, we were at war not with its conduct but with its existence, convinced that its existence and its hostility were the same. . . . The design is wicked, immoral, impious, oppressive, but it is spirited and daring—it is systematick, it is simple in its principle, it has unity and consistency in perfection. To them the will, the wish, the want, the liberty, the toil, the blood of individuals is nothing. Individuality is left out of their scheme of government. The state is all in all; everything is referred to the production of force, afterwards everything is trusted to the use of it. It is military in its principles, in its maxims, in its spirit, and in all its movements. The state has dominion and conquest for its sole objects—dominion over minds by proselytism, over bodies by arms."—*Edmund Burke, "Letters on a Regicide Peace," 1796.*

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